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1855.

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Bombay, July, 1855.

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THE

BOMBAY QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE FRONTIER OF PESHAWUR AND ITS TRIBES.

A personal narrative of a visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan. By G. T. VIGNE, Esq., F.G.S.—London : Whittaker & Co., Ave Maria Lane, 1840.

ALTHOUGH our periodical is according to established precedent styled a Review, and may therefore be expected to criticize books, pamphlets, and such official papers as appear in print, yet the reader will before this have perceived that we have no intention of confining ourselves to any prescribed limits, and that we suspend our labours as Reviewers, when we have an opportunity of conveying original information to the public. And reposing, as nearly all our Indian possessions are at the present time, in profound peace, attention is particularly drawn to the direction in which the British Empire has but lately extended its frontier, and where its subjects are still disturbed by threats of invasion, border raids, attempts at assassination, and the defiant attitude of ferocious tribes. We are therefore glad to publish the following paper, which has its origin in observations made upon the spot, and will convey an accurate knowledge of men and their haunts to such as may possibly be engaged in active operations there, whilst it will also throw open to all a prospect of mountains, valleys, and their wild denizens, which have hitherto been unexplored and almost unknown. As regards the work, the title of which is prefixed, we may content ourselves with applying to it the words which Mr. Macaulay used under similar circumstances, and admit that G. T. Vigne, Esq., "is merely a Richard Roe, who will not be mentioned in any subsequent stage of

the proceedings, and whose name is used for the sole purpose of bringing certain tribes of Afghans into Court."

It appears that as early as A. D. 679, the valley of Peshawur was in the possession of an Arab tribe named "*Dullazac*," who extended their territory as far as Jhelum, and were frequently engaged in hostilities with the Rajas of Lahore. They were, however, expelled their territory, about A. D. 750, by the Hindoos and Infidels, who re-occupied and retained it for nearly two hundred and fifty years after, or till the time of Soltan Mahmud Ghuznuvic.

As the Afghans, or Puthans, (which is only another name for them) are not the aborigines of the Peshawur valley and its frontier, perhaps before entering into a detailed description of that region, an outline of their origin, and the mode in which they became masters of the country, may not be altogether uninteresting;—but as all historical works relating to them are scarce, and the knowledge possessed by individuals is vague and unsatisfactory, besides being mixed up with fabulous traditions, we must confine ourselves to a brief analysis. We have however every reason to believe that the following account will be found in the main correct.

The Peshawur authorities have employed much time, trouble and expense in endeavouring to fathom the truth as to the origin of this interesting tribe, and have at length arrived at the conclusion, that they are "*the Lost Tribes of Israel*." Many strong proofs may be brought in support of this, but perhaps none more so than the fact of the Puthans calling themselves the descendants of Israel, or in their own words "*Bin-Israel*." Secondly, their religion, previous to their embracing Mahomedanism, is believed to have been in accordance with the Mosaic law, whereas the other and numerous races in their neighbourhood were either Fireworshippers, Pagans or Idolaters. Thirdly, their Jewish features are marked and most striking.

The Afghans themselves trace their descent to *Khalid* the son of *Walid*, who resided at "*Ghowarie-Morghai*," in the mountains of *Ghor*, which lie between *Bamean* and *Ghuznee*. They are divided into two distinct branches, styled *Sur-bund* and *Kirraray*, after the two sons of *Khalid*, who so named them owing to the following circumstance:—A daughter of *Khalid* was ascertained to have had criminal connexion with one of the servants of the household. When her father became aware of it, he sent for his two sons, and consulted each as to what had better be done in the matter. The first recommended that the guilty pair should be married, as the disgrace of uniting his sister with a person inferior in rank and birth would be less than if their conduct became known. The second was of

opinion, that his sister and the servant ought both to be put to death. Khalid coincided with the former, and considering him a man of tact, gave him the appropriate name of *Sur-bund*. The second son continued arguing the point, and the father told him that as he could not hold his tongue after what had been said, he was to consider his name changed from that day to *Kirraray*, which signifies, a person who cannot command his tongue.

The *Sur-bund* branch of Afghans is by far the most numerous, having twelve "astanahs" or divisions, while the Kirrarays only number five. The following tribes are of the *Sur-bund* branch: Sudozie, Bamezie, Barukzie, Bajowrees, Swattees, Bonairwalls, Mukozies, Chughurzies, Hussunzies, Eusufzies, Momunds and Khullals. The Kirraray branch are Affreedees, Khuttuks, Ghilzies, Shurwarees and Wazerees.

As has been stated before, the Puthans were from the mountains of *Ghor*, and the following explanation is given to account for their having left their old haunts and settled in the countries they now occupy. Soltan Mahmud Ghuznuvic, having, when passing through Peshawur on his road to Hindostan, met with considerable opposition from the infidels, then residents in the valley, on his return to Ghuznee consulted as to the best mode of expelling these people from this desirable situation. Baloldana, his brother, recommended him to collect a large force from among the Afghans of *Ghor*, noted for their valour and hardihood, which advice he took, and set out from Ghuznee in the year A. D. 1018 with a large army composed of this race. His expedition was successful; the infidels being driven out of the country, the Puthans were put in possession of it by the Soltan, and have ever since retained it; Swatt having been the last place from which the Cafirs were dislodged. A man by name *Akhom Durwaniza* materially assisted Soltan Mahomed in this expedition. At his death a shrine—which is still held in great veneration—was built and dedicated to this Akhom near *Huzer-Khancee*, close to the city of Peshawur.

The people who inhabited the Peshawur valley, at the time of Soltan Mahomed's Afghan expedition, were of the race of Cafirs, now to be found in Cafir-is-tan, and some, who fled towards the Punjab, are supposed to have been converted by Baba Nanuk to the Seikh religion. The Cafirs of the present time allow this fact, and many have been heard to say that they once possessed the valley of Peshawur, and were driven out by the Puthans. At the time of their expulsion, their Chiefs were Rajah *Saloo* who resided in the hills between Attock and Ducknair, in the fort of "*Kote Pettour*," the remains of which are to be seen, and "*Oodee rajah*," who lived in a fort above Khyrabad, opposite Attock, and which is to this day known by his name. There were two more men amongst them, whose

names we have been unable to discover ; they were brothers ; the one lived in a fort, where the *Bala Hissar* at Peshawur now stands, and the other held a fort which stood on the mound at Hushtnugur which is also called *Bala Hissar*. They had one sister, who erected a fort near *Meershaee* and *Meeralli*, on the road from Eusufzie to Khodo Khail and Punchtor, where she was defeated by the Puthans, owing to her not being supported by her brother in Hushtnugur. The reason for this neglect was as follows :—

For mutual protection against the Puthans there was a general understanding amongst the whole of these Cafirs, that when a smoke was seen to rise in the direction of any one of their forts, it was the signal for the other to move out and render assistance. The Rajah of Hushtnugur having caused on one occasion a false alarm to be made that he might test the vigilance of his relations, they answered the signal by hastening to the spot with their followers, but on discovering their mistake returned in disgust. This led to their sister's disaster, for, when she made the preconcerted signal, none of the brothers would move out, thinking that it was a second hoax. During the fight, she ascended a large block of stone to see if aid was coming, and is supposed to have died from a sun-stroke. The block is to this day called "*Ranee-gutt*," or the Queen's stone, and a red mark which is on its surface is pointed out as the blood of the Cafir Princess. The story of her death is made use of by the Puthans, who reproach their women, when they complain of heat, by inquiring of them if they are as delicate as the "*Queen of the stone*," and would die if exposed to the sun.

Another proof that the Cafirs were the aborigines of the Peshawur valley is, that their style of buildings in their towns is similar to the old ruins found in Eusufzie, Pettour Kote, Odee Rajah, and Swatt, more particularly as to the composition of the cement.

The Cafirs are composed of four distinct classes, viz.—The *Kemo-zies*, inhabiting the hill bordering on *Kaskkar* ; the *Kullush*, in the neighbourhood of *Chelas* and *Gilgit* ; the *Kuttars*, near *Konur* ; and the *Ganbeer* tribe above *Lughman*. Their language contains many words originally Sanskrit, but now corrupted, and is known little of, except by the *Kaka Khails* (*Khuttuks*), who used to deal with them in slave girls. One of their words which struck us as being remarkable was "*ginger-beer*," which is *their* name for ginger. We have collected several notes regarding them ; but as our object is to describe the Peshawur frontier, we can have no excuse for inserting them here ; we will therefore go to the *Khuttuks*, and so take each tribe in natural succession.

• The *Khuttuk* country is divided into Eastern and Western. Eastern is that which extends from the right bank of the Indus, opposite

Attock, to the confines of the Affredee Hills, at the village of *Mosadurra*, in the neighbourhood of Janakwar, a distance of some twenty-six miles. It comprises the whole of the hills between these two points, and runs back in a southerly direction, skirting the Indus, as far as *Shadeepoor*, a distance of sixty miles. It here includes the Jageer of Nelah, Chilpanee, Durwazie, Mundoree, Jubbec, Ghar-recpoorah, and other chief villages. It then runs in a westerly direction for about thirty miles till it borders on the Kohat district. The plain at the foot of the Khuttuk hills, between it and the main road from Peshawur to Attock, also belongs to this division. Western Khuttuk comprises a large tract of country in the neighbourhood of Kohat, bordering on the Wazeerce and Bungish tribes. The post of Bahadoor Khail is considered the boundary between it and the Wuzeerees, and the chief villages are Tharee, Lachce, Combat, Chountra, Nurree and Lutunar. As regards their general features, both divisions contain small patches of cultivation on the sides of the lower hills, which are steep and stony. The ravines throughout Khuttuk are the most extensive and deep of any we have ever seen, forming narrow gorges, which render it any thing but pleasing to the eye of the traveller. Those portions of the country which are under cultivation are chiefly in the vicinity of Nelah and Chountra; but as two-thirds of the whole are nothing but waste lands and ravines, it may be pronounced for the most part barren. In a military point of view, Eastern Khuttuk is of much importance, and has always been considered the key to the Peshawur valley from the Punjab side; more particularly the heights above Khyrabad, opposite Attock, and the Gidur Gully Pass. The Khuttuks are well aware of the importance of this stronghold, though perhaps not more so than the Seikhs were during the time they held Peshawur. Feroze Khan, one of the greatest Khuttuk chiefs, defended it for a long time against them; and many and serious have been the losses sustained by the Seikhs in endeavouring to force it, especially when the fort of Jumrood was besieged by the Dooranees and Puthans. Everything was done to hold the Gidur Gully, and so ~~to cut~~ off the Seikh supports from the Punjab; but they, knowing the necessity of reinforcing Hufreesingh at Jumrood, made good their way through it. Whenever a disturbance took place in the Peshawur valley, between the inhabitants and the Seikhs, there was always an eye kept upon the Gidur Gully by both parties. There is no doubt indeed of its importance in those days, for the natural features are most formidable in themselves; but this obstacle has been mastered since the British have held rule in the Peshawur valley. The road which used to run through this Pass has now been carried close along the right bank of the Cabul river, avoiding and turning the Pass in a

most complete manner ; the work was not however achieved without great trouble and expense, as the road had to be cut out of the side of the low hills which run down to the edge of the stream ; and in 1850 one of the largest mines ever known was sprung in presence of the Governor General.

The Khuttuk range, thirty two miles in length, runs nearly parallel with the main road between Attock and Peshawur, at a distance of from three to seven miles, and commands it. This is another feature which renders Eastern Khuttuk of importance. The Khuttuks are well aware of this advantage, and through the assistance of their friends and neighbours, the Affreedees, large bands of horsemen and footmen, were kept up for the purpose of plundering the kafilas which passed down the country from Peshawur, laden with the productions of central Asia. These, together with money, jewels and other valuables taken from the persons of the Seikhs, swelled the profits of these marauders to considerable sums. Their head quarters were at Janakhiwar and Boree, though there were very few Khuttuks who singly or in small parties lost an opportunity of replenishing their pockets at the expense of a Seikh ; many of the noted "Dharowers," or robbers, of Janakhiwar and Boree, kept up twenty, thirty and even forty horsemen on regular pay for the purpose, and right well could they afford it. The most notorious amongst these men were Hyduray, Fuzul Khan, and Junadar ; the two former are still alive, and Junadar was murdered at Boree by the Itun Khails. Hyduray was pointed out to us at Janakhiwar, when there in April 1854, and we were much struck at the quiet way he related numerous murders he had committed in the Seikh time. He stated how he managed to escape having the tendons of his heels cut by the Seikhs, after he had been taken by them. When the barber was called in with a razor, and the Seikh Sirdar asked, which amongst the number,—there being three others—was Hyduray, pointing to another, he replied, "that is Hyduray." The consequence of this was, that the supposed Hyduray was much mutilated, and he himself got off with a slight cut. Thus he said was owing to his knowing Punjabee, which the others did not. He went on to say that these were bad times for him, for it was running a great risk to attempt any thing on the road now, as so many Boorjes had been erected, and there was nothing off it. Fuzull Khan is now a trooper in the Guide Cavalry, and a right good one. He has numerous marks of wounds on him, and has the credit of having murdered about three hundred Seikhs and twelve Mahomedans. We have heard him say that he hoped to be forgiven for the latter, but the Seikhs were of no consequence.

Previous to the affair at Boree in November 1853, there were

upwards of fifty horse-men kept up for plundering purposes, but since that, they have all been disposed of. Remarks which have fallen from the mouths of these practiced brigands lead us to conclude, that there is no greater check to highway robberies than the erection of Boorjes at convenient distances, and the system of patrolling. The post of Shumshutoo has done much to diminish this crime, for it is on the road to Boree and Janakhowar, and anything plundered on the Peshawur and Attock road ran a great risk of being recaptured by the patrols from Shumshutoo.

The range which we alluded to, as running parallel to the main road, is as high as any in either of the two divisions, and is covered with low brushwood jungle. The roads throughout Khuttuk are hardly worthy of that name, being paths, barely sufficient for camels and horsemen.

Eastern Khuttuk was formerly under the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur, but has recently been transferred to the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat—an arrangement which has given general satisfaction to the people. It produces sufficient grain for the maintenance of its own people only, and with the exception of large quantities of firewood, which supply the Peshawur market, yields nothing worthy of notice. On the other hand Western Khuttuk is a most valuable tract of country, possessing three salt mines, which yield a large annual income to the government. The "Jutta" mines are situated thirty five miles from Kohat, and supply the whole of the Peshawur market in abundance. Quantities of salt find their way into Eastern Khuttuk, and the countries of the Affreepees, Momund, Ootman, Khail, Swatt, Bajour, Bonair, and Gudoon; it is sold near the mines at the moderate price of a maund for two rupees, which enables the Khuttuks principally, and Affreepees to derive large profits. The second mine is at Nurru, but there is not so much demand on it as the others. The third, at Bahadoor Khail, is most extensive and valuable, inasmuch as it is the source from whence nearly the whole of central Asia is supplied. Any restrictions on this mine would lead to serious consequences in the countries of the North. The salt too is much cheaper than at any of the other mines, only four annas being paid for a maund; but it is not allowed to pass into the British territory. The chief people who procure this article from Bahadoor Khail are the Wuzerees; but owing to the punishment which has been inflicted upon them by our troops of late, they have hardly ventured to come. Notwithstanding all the precautions which are taken to prevent smuggling, the Bahadoor Khail salt is said to find its way across the Indus, although little is carried through our territory. It is supposed to travel viâ Koonur, Jellalabad, Swatt, and Bonair: it is then passed over the Indus in the Hussunzie coun-

try, above Jahundad's possessions in "Tinowl," and sold in Huza-rah at 18 Rs. the maund.

The Khuttuks are, as has been previously stated, of the Kirraray branch of Puthans. They are again divided into four Khails or classes, viz. Kaka Khails, Khan Khails, Fugeer Khails, and the people of the country or Khuttuks. A description of each of these Khails is given as it cannot be altogether uninteresting, and first we will describe the Khan Khails. The name of this class speaks for itself, as it consists of all the Khans or chiefs of the tribe, who at present are three in number, viz. Khwaja Mahomed Khan, Jafir Khan, and Ufzul Khan. The pedigrees of each of these chiefs is as follows:—Khwaja Mahomed Khan is the son of Khoshall Khan, the son of Nasur Khan, the son of Shahbaz Khan (surdar), the son of Syudollah Khan alias Shayed Khan, the son of Ufzul Khan, the son of Ushruf Khan, the son of Khoshall Khan the Great, the son of Yaeah Khan, the son of Akoray, the son of Hyder Khan, the son of Shahbaz Khan, the son of Chinjo Khan.

Jafir Khan is the son of Ameer Khan, the son of Noorolah Khan, the son of Shadut Khan alias Surfuraz Khan, son of Syudollah Khan alias Shayed Khan, the son of Ufzul Khan, the son of Ushruf Khan, son of Khoshall Khan the Great, son of Shahbaz Khan, the son of Yaeah Khan, the son of Akoray, son of Hyder Khan, son of Shahbaz Khan, son of Chinjo Khan.

Ufzul Khan is the son of Nuruff Khan, the son of Ussuff Khan, son of Shadut Khan alias Surfuraz Khan, the son of Syudollah Khan alias Shayed Khan, the son of Ufzul Khan, the son of Ushruf Khan, son of Khoshall Khan the Great, son of Shahbaz Khan, the son of Yaeah Khan, son of Akoray, the son of Hyder Khan, son of Shahbaz Khan, the son of Chinjo Khan.

These pedigrees give twelve generations, which may be computed at thirty five years each, giving a total of four hundred and twenty years since the days of Chinjo Khan.

Khwaja Mahomed Khan is by far the most influential man of the three, and is the Governor of Western Khuttuk. He does not hold so high a position amongst the Khan Khails as the others, owing to his being the son of a slave girl, which is remembered against him. Whenever Government have had need of his services, he has always come forward with five or six thousand followers. In the cold season of 1851, he accompanied Captain Coke up the Meranzie valley, and again assisted at the taking of the Kohat Pass "Kotul." Jafir Khan has the character of being bold and enterprising, but rather given to intrigue. He is on the whole well behaved and a good man. His Jagheer comprises Nelab, Chelpanee, Durwazai, Mundorie, Jubbee, Ghoriepoora &c., all on the right bank of the Indus between Attock and

Khoshallghur. Ufzul Khan ranks third, and is inferior in every way to the other two. He is a notorious coward, and has generally been considered incompetent to fill so responsible a situation, being ignorant, undecided, and addicted to vice. He has however since been removed from the Khanship and has had a Mowajib granted to him instead. His Jageer has been made over to Jafir Khan of Nelab. It extended from opposite Pubbu, on the Peshawur road, down to the vicinity of Khoshallghur.

The noted Khuttuk Chiefs since the days of Chinjo Khan, were Akoray, Yacah Khan, Shabaz Khan, Khoshall Khan the Great, Shadut Khan alias Sufuraz Khan, and Fowze Khan.

Akoray was a man of the village of "Baruk" near Haree, in Western Khuttuk, who took to plundering the road between Peshawur and Attock. In order to induce him to relinquish this practice, the Governor of Peshawur gave him the tract of land, which lies between "Bullur," to the South East of "Toroo" in Yusufzie, as far as "Dumay" on the borders of the Wuzcerce country and Bumroo. Being an ambitious man, he encroached on his neighbours, and by degrees succeeded in annexing several villages beyond his Jageer.

Yacah Khan was much respected, and of pleasing address. Owning to this he secured the good will of all, and induced the villagers of Zoramaina, Tolundi, Misree, Banda, Alli Mahomed, Meeshuk, Moghulkai, Nundurah, Mahesa, Jahangera, Alladaree, Jubbur, Bazar, Mankai, Tordaree, Jubbai, Julsai &c., all on the left bank of the Cabul river, to join him.

Shabaz Khan was noted for his courage, and his acts of valour are proverbial amongst the Khuttuks.

Khoshall Khan is looked upon as the greatest chief of the whole; he was a man of talent and the best Governor the Khuttuks ever had, being liberal, brave, and pleasing in manners. He commanded the respect of all. Poetry was his amusement, and he was the author of many poems, which to this day are much prized by the Khuttuks. His name, acts and sayings are invariably quoted by these people, in their conversation or arguments. Many of his poems were written at the time when the North Eastern Afghans revolted against Aurungzeeb, for the purpose of exciting the natural enthusiasm of his tribe. He was confined at Delhi by Aurungzeeb for twelve years, owing to his eldest son, Byram Khan, having killed one of the sons of Shaikh Rahumkar, the famous Khuttuk Saint. The whole of this time he employed in his favourite pastime of writing poetry. He had no fewer than fifty-six sons, of whom only thirty-two lived to manhood, and as a detailed account of the whole of them would be more than is necessary, mention shall only be made of such as are of note.

Byram Khan, his eldest son, was not allowed to succeed his father in the Khanship, on account of the murder of Shaikh Rahumkar's son. When Khoshall Khan became old and found he could not carry on the duties of the Khanship in a satisfactory way, he appointed his second son Ushruf Khan to be the Chieftain; he did not however turn out a favourite with his father, more particularly because he had never been wounded, which, said Khoshall, argued that his son could not have been to the front! After Khoshall Khan's twelfth year of imprisonment, Aurungzeeb offered to release him, but he refused, as he said he did not consider himself the King's prisoner, but Shaikh Rahumkar's, who, on hearing this, requested his release, which was granted.

Surfuraz Khan held both divisions of Khuttuk under his control, and was the last of the Khuttuk Chiefs who did so. His younger brother, Shabaz Khan, was appointed by him to the charge of the Western Division, while he held the Eastern under his own immediate supervision. The village of Akhorah, on the Peshawur and Attock road, was his residence, and, although it now has a most wretched appearance, was in those days of considerable extent and beauty. Shadut, alias Sulfuraz, had several sons, but Noorolah and Usuf were the only two of note. Usuf succeeded his father in the Khanship and retained it for twelve years. He was not fortunate, as his father had been, in keeping both divisions under his control.

Feroze Khan, the son of Noorolah Khan, could not reconcile himself to the idea of his uncle Usuf holding the Khanship, his father being the elder brother. Possessing considerable influence with the Governor of Peshawur, he with his assistance obliged Usuf Khan to abdicate, and leave his country for Yusufzie. He at that period introduced the Khutuks into that province for the first time, since which they have increased to considerable numbers, and are the principal residents of Lumdakhwar and Buller. He was subsequently poisoned by Yar Mahomed, the Barukzie chief and then Governor of Peshawur.

Feroze Khan was succeeded by his son Abbas Khan, who after three years was also put to death by Peer Mahomed Khan Barukzie, the other Governor. His brother Khawas Khan followed him and was also fated to die from the hands of an assassin, for he was murdered in a most cowardly way, while on a shooting excursion, by the present Ufzul Khan, so recently deprived of his Khanship.

Ufzul Khan has himself escaped a similar death, and his father Nujuff Khan paid the penalty for his son's base act, by the forfeiture of his life. Owing to the blood of feud, Nujuff Khan was cut down by Akram and Shaced Khan, the relatives of Khawas Khan and now residents of Swatt.

Nujuff Khan while chief of the Khuttuks was imprisoned by Sirdar Shere Singh, who appointed Shabaz Khan, the son of Meer Ushun Khan, and brother of Sobadar Almud Khan, of the Guide Corps, to the Khanship. Hurree Singh at that time gave Kohat to Soltan Mahmud Khan, Doaba to Peer Mahomed Khan, and Husht-nugur to Syud Mohamed Khan, the brothers of Dost Mahomed Khan, the Ameer of Cabul. The great fight between the Seikhs and Puthans at Nowshara was fought under Feroze Khan's eye, when he was assisted by Uzeem Khan Barukzie, elder brother of Ameer Dost Mahomed.

As the pedigree of Futteh Khan "Bahadoor," late a Resaldar in the Guide Cavalry (he being a Khan Khail), may be interesting, together with a brief outline of his career, we annex it, more particularly as his descent and hereditary claims are doubtful. Futteh Khan is the son of Khalid Khan, son of Mahomed Khan, the son of * * *, the son of Khalid Khan, the son of Khoshall Khan, the son of Shabaz Khan, the son of Yacah Khan, son of Akoray, the son of Hydur Khan, the son of Shabaz Khan, the son of Chingjo Khan. Shabaz Khan, the son of Meer Ushun Khan, when Khan, was obliged to throw up his office, and seek protection in Boree, owing to his inability to cope with the Seikhs, and took up his residence at Toorkee-Soorkee. Futteh Khan, whose sister was married to him, allowed him, when he left for Boree, to join his party, on account of his sister. Subsequent to this, Shabaz Khan went to Cabul with eighty troopers to seek for service with the Ameer. Futteh Khan was there introduced to "the Dost." Some months later circumstances induced Shabaz Khan to ask the assistance of the Ameer, to enable him to recover his Khanship. An order was then issued to Soltan Mahomed Khan, the Governor of Kohat, to render him every aid in his power against the Seikhs. Shabaz left Cabul with this order, and on presenting it to the Governor, it met with immediate compliance. In addition to this he collected a large number of Affreedees, and with this force marched to claim his rights and enforce them. Being met by the Seikhs, and receiving a mortal wound early in the fight, he died on the spot, and the contest was forthwith relinquished. On his death, Futteh Khan secured some fourteen of his horses, and induced their riders to accompany him to Cabul, where he presented himself for service to Dost Mahomed, on the strength of his former introduction, and was entertained. He took his discharge, however, on hearing of the late Colonel Mackeson's arrival at Peshawar, and came down with his fourteen men for employment; but he was not so fortunate as before, for nine of the horses and riders having been rejected, the remainder only were enlisted. He served for some time with the Colonel, and then went to the

Guide Corps, which he left in October 1852. He owes much to Shabaz Khan, and but for his aid would have remained as he was, a poor Khan Khail. It has been said that he had claims to the Khanship of Khuttuk, but this is a misapprehension, caused by his own statement, as that title descended through Ushruf Khan, one of the fifty-six sons of Khoshall Khan, whereas Futtch Khan belongs to another branch. The fact of Khoshall Khan having been Khan a hundred and seventy-nine years before his time, does not tell in favour of his claim, as he is the offspring of the younger branch of that great chief's family. Sobadar Ahmud Khan, of the Guide Corps, is looked upon as one of the nearest heirs, and certainly, as far as respect and influence go, there is no one to equal him amongst the Khan Khails.

The Kaka Khails are the descendants of Shaikh Rahumkar, or Shaikh Lumkar, or Kaka Sahib, the famous Khuttuk Saint, of whom mention has been made, and who, living in the time of Aurungzeb, was revered by the various Afghan tribes to a wonderful extent. He was regarded by them as a high saint, and had the credit of working miracles; indeed their admiration of him savours of superstition and idolatry. At his death a shrine was erected and dedicated to him, at the foot of the Khuttuk range, seven miles from Akhora. At this place, known by the name of "*Kaka Sahib da Ziarat*," a large fair is held in the month of April, and people from all parts of Afghanistan visit it, sometimes as many as seven thousand being assembled. Sick horses, cattle, hawks, and other animals are presented at the shrine, and believed to be cured from every description of disease!

The Kaka Khails command the greatest respect in every part of upper and lower Afghanistan, and their persons and property are held to be strictly sacred. They are as crafty as any sect in the world, and not having allowed the advantages which accrue from the superstitious belief of the people to remain dormant, are engaged in every description of speculation and barter with all parts of the northern countries. Possessing large numbers of camels and mules, they employ them for the transport of the various articles from one place to the other, and being at liberty to travel where they like, with perfect safety, and without fear of molestation, are enabled to monopolize any trade they may select; whereas merchants run a great risk of being plundered and have to pay heavy tolls. Even the Affreedees of the Khyber Pass, who have but little regard for any, do not interfere with the Kaka Khails. All have more or less of wealth, which they have acquired by merchandise and alms, and the only return which they make the people for thus supporting them, is an entertainment given on the days of the annual fair held at the shrine. Almost the whole of the salt trade is in their hands, and the profits are enormous; their camels

are to be seen at the Jutta mines in hundreds, and their bullocks in proportion, carrying this article through Eusufzie to Swatt and Bajour, and returning with rice, ghee, and iron. The most influential men amongst them are:—Secunder-mean, who resides at the shrine, Zaid-goll-mean, whose Ghurra is close to the post of Bazad Khail, and Rahim-goll-mean of Abazie. The first is the senior of the sect, and respected as such. Zaid-goll-mean's authority extends over the *whole* of the Affreedees, and he is considered by them as their particular high priest, collections being made for him whenever he visits Terah or any other portion of the Affreedee country, and it being his duty to settle all disputes and feuds. He is well disposed towards the Government, and if they wish at any time to avail themselves of his services, he will be found most useful, particularly in arranging matters connected with the Kohat Pass. Indeed we are of opinion that any arrangements made by his means would have far more satisfactory results than has been the case where Rahmut Khan Oorukzie and the Arhabs of Peshawur have been employed.

Rahim-goll-mean's authority and influence extend over the whole of the Ootman Khails and Bajourees, who look upon him in the same light as the Affreedees do on Zaid-goll, and he enjoys the same privileges as regards alms, &c. He is invariably consulted by these people, and his advice taken in cases of claims and disputes. Doubts have been entertained as to his feelings towards the Government, and he has been suspected of assisting the Momunds against us. This we have every reason to believe is an error; he would be only too glad to have an opportunity of rendering us his services. He could not assist the Momunds, having never forgiven an insult he once received at their hands, and being the last man to do so. In 1852 when some Government camels were stolen, he succeeded in bringing them back, and has never yet failed in carrying out the wishes of the officer at Abazie. In addition to this he induced the Ootman Khails to come to terms with the Government the same year that a force under Sir Colin Campbell was employed against them at Nowadund and other places. It is true that he is discontented, because his lands have been required for the fort of Abazie, and he has been left without compensation for so long a time. He was put to inconvenience in procuring grain, which is expended in large quantities in entertaining any one who may put up at his residence. One thing may be depended upon, which is, that these men are more prosperous when on our side than when arrayed against us.

The Fugueer Khails, another sub-division of the Khuttuks, require but a few remarks. Let it suffice to say they are the descendants of Jumbeel Khan, who was induced through religious motives to relinquish the Khauship in favor of his younger brother, Khoshall

Khan the Great, and to become a hermit. Owing to this act, his posterity have been called "Fuqueer Khails," and consequently they stand high in the estimation of all Khuttnks. They have the character of being remarkably honest, so much so that money and valuables are frequently deposited amongst them for safety.

The Khuttuk people are estimated at about thirty-five thousand. Possessing but little land worthy of cultivation, they have never acquired a taste for the plough, and whilst they are remarkable for their high tone as well as their ardent spirit of patriotism and independence, they are also brave and hardy. Many of them take service in the native states of Tonk, Gopal, Bahwulpoor, &c. besides those who are in the employ of the British Government. The devout respect entertained by all Afghans for their high priest or saint, gives them certain advantages, and from consideration for him they are treated well wherever they go.

They have large herds of bullocks which they employ in carrying salt to Swatt and Bajour, and wood to Peshawur. In return they bring back grain, ghee, and iron, from which they derive considerable profit. It may be said that this is their only way of gaining a livelihood, for their lands are so poor as to be hardly worth cultivation. In the days of the Seikh rule at Peshawur they were very turbulent and gave much trouble, but since the British took possession of the valley, they have been quiet. They sometimes committed robberies on the Peshawur and Attock road, from which they have of late desisted. Formerly their chief means of subsistence was the plunder seized on this road, and their worst characters were inhabitants of the hills on the Affreedee confines in the country of Ufzul Khan, who had no power or control over them. Like all Puthans, they are hospitable, and treat strangers and travellers well. They are also less given to vice than the other tribes.

The Affreedees, whose natural position is on the Peshawur frontier, next claim our attention. They belong to the "Kirraray" branch of the Afghans, and are the descendants of "Affreed," from whom they also derive their name, and who was said to be the son of Shahzadah Hosain. Having had a criminal connexion with a woman of the "Kirraray" tribe, Shahzadah is supposed to have retired to the mountains of Ghor, where his paramour gave birth to two sons, one of whom was called "Affreed," and was the person above alluded to, the other "Ghulzoie," from whom the present tribe of Ghilzies derive their name and origin. In the language of the country, the word "Ghulzoie" means literally, the son of a thief, or in other words, illegitimate.

When Affreed arrived at the age of manhood he was married to a Wurduk woman, of the village of "Sharutollah," between that country and the Wuzcerees. She became the mother of six sons, viz.—Adum, Oolah, Aka, Meerie, Karum and Bhyram, after each of whom a tribe has been named, and of whom we propose to give particular descriptions, so far as we are able.

It must be understood that each of these six names only apply to a tribe generally; for instance, in asking an Affredee what Khail he belongs to, it would be necessary to put a second question, if you wished him to be particular, owing to the six tribes being again subdivided. A man might tell you he belonged to the Adum Khails; the next question would be, which branch or sub-division; and he might reply, to the Hussun Khails.

The history of the Adum Khails and their sub-divisions is as follows:—Adum married two women, each of whom gave birth to three sons; the one to Hussun, Zowukai, and Gullai; the other to Ahmud, Allai, and Kallai. The Hussun Khail occupy that portion of the range to the south-west of Peshawur, extending from the confines of the Khuttuks, at Janakliwar, to the mouth of the Kohat Pass, and are said to muster three thousand five hundred strong.* The Zowukai are distributed over the villages of Zowukai, Boree, Toorkai, Goorkai, Jummo, Pahai, Ghazie, Ghurceba and Ismail Khail, and have one village in the Khyber Pass; they number nearly five thousand fighting men. Boree comprises eight villages, viz. Bur-Ittum Khail, Kooz Ittum Khail, Mawul Khail, Adeel Ghurrie, Spunting, Agrawall, Tuttuo Khail and Pastoonce. The Gullai hold the Kohat Pass, and possess the villages of Zurgoon Khail, Sherukai, and Boostee Khail. To the east of the Pass they have the villages of Ishpeelkai and Toor-suppur. The Gullai tribe are estimated to have three thousand fighting men. Ahmud, Allai and Kattai are insignificant in comparison with the above three tribes, only mustering about twelve hundred fighting men. The villages of Kundow and Oochulgudda are the residence of the Ahmud Khails and Allai, while the Kattai are located in Terali. Thus the Adum Khails amount to twelve thousand seven hundred fighting men, and are divided into sub-divisions, named after the grandsons of Affreed. By some the Oomdu Khails are looked upon as Adum Khails, but we are not certain on this point.

We come now to the Oolah Affreedees. Oolah had four sons, Feroze, Loonda, Bobukur, and Hoormuz, by his first wife, and three by his second, viz. Boodha, Shahnuwaz and Nasuruldeen, making seven sons in all; but we shall not have occasion to

* The Hussun Khail villages are, Janakliwar, Mosa-durra, Kohce, Turrone and Akhor.

mention further the last six, as they obtained no importance. The Khails which include Ferðze Khan's descendants have taken the name of his three sons, Kokee, Kumbur, and Mullikdeen. The Kokee Khails can bring into the field three thousand five hundred fighting men, and are residents of the Khyber Pass, Terah, Midan, Gugurai, and Jum. The Khumbur Khails are a powerful tribe, residents of Terah, and can turn out four thousand fighting men. The Mullikdeen Khails are also powerful, being calculated at three thousand fighting men, and are located in the Khyber Pass, Terah, Midan and Kujoorah. Thus these three Khails can assemble ten thousand five hundred fighting men. The other three brothers, Loonda, Bobukur and Hoormuz Khan, being the weaker party, were obliged to combine for mutual protection against the tyranny of their brother Feroze, since which time their descendants have gone by the name of "Sapai," or the three brothers, and occupy the hills opposite the fort of Barah, but cannot muster more than fifteen hundred men at the most.

The Aka Khail Affreedees trace their origin thus :—Aka, the third son of "Affreed," had three sons, Zuka, Kumur and Bussee. The Zuka Khails are in all three thousand two hundred fighting men, residents of the Khyber, Terah, Bazar and Barah. The Kumur Khails are also of Terah, and can only muster seven hundred fighting men. The Bussee Khails are a numerous and powerful tribe, capable of collecting three thousand fighting men, and occupying Terah and Barah. The remaining three sons of Affreed and their descendants are too insignificant to require remark, as they do not number more than a thousand altogether, and are scattered over various parts of Terah and Midan.

The Oolah Mulliks are five in number, viz.—Mudutt Khan of Chowrai, Khowajanoor of Bazar, Alladad Khan, and Golistan Khan of Lalla-baig in the Khyber, Soorajooldeen of Barah, and Shere Mahomed Khan of Terah. The Aka and Meerai Khails look upon Soorajooldeen as their chief, and the five who belong to Karum and Bhyram Khails, acknowledge Alladad and Goolistan of the Khyber.

Having thus given the origin and pedigrees of the various Affreedee Khails, with the exception of the Oorukzies, who may be looked upon as a separate class, although they are Affreedees, we shall revert to the tribes on our immediate borders. But we may first observe that the Dorukzies are a most powerful people, numbering some thirty thousand fighting men. Their head chiefs are Rahmut Khan and others. They are the principal inhabitants of Terah and Midan, and are divided into the two Mahomedan sects of "Sheahs" and "Soonee," which is remarkable, as the whole of the Affreedees who have been before mentioned are of the latter sect.

The Adum Khails are the tribe to whom we allude as being on our immediate border, and as they adjoin the Khuttuks we will take them first and add some further remarks. To begin with the Hussun Khails ; they are said to number three thousand five hundred fighting men, and reside in the villages of Janakhwar, Mosadurra, Kohee, Turronee and Akho^r. As all these places are of note, we may copy a letter addressed by an officer to Major H. B. Edwardes, C. B., Commandant and Superintendent of the Peshawur division, as the best account we can offer of the four first.

(Copy).

From Lieut. FRED. M'C. TURNER, *Guide Corps*,
To Major H. B. EDWARDES, C. B., *Comm. and Supt. Peshawur Division*.

“Eusufzie, May 1st, 1854.

“SIR,—Thinking that a rough sketch of Janakhwar and a few particulars regarding it and the Affreedees residing there, which your permission enabled me to visit and collect, might interest you, I have the pleasure to detail what little I was able to ascertain.

“On the morning of the 26th ultimo I left Zaid-gool-mean's Ghuree, and passing through the villages of Kundow and Kundur, which lie at the foot of the small range of hills, opposite the post of Bazud Khail, I arrived at Turronee, which is situated at the entrance into the valley of Boree. The road from the Mean's Ghuree to Khundow is level and good, but on passing it it turns off a little to the left, and skirting the small range, winds through rather deep ravines as far as Turronee, and is sufficiently good to allow horsemen to pass in single file.

“The distance from the Mean's Ghuree to Kundur is half a mile, and from that to Kundur $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and then $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles on to Turronee. There is water in small quantity in a nullah which crosses the road some $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles before you reach Turronee, but which does not exist in the hot season.

“I took the outer road in preference to going over the Kundow Pass, and through the Boree valley, as I was anxious to see how far it was passable for Troops, and found the one between it and the newly made road to Shunshutoo preferable.

“On passing Turronee I went on to Kohee, a distance of somewhat less than half mile, which is situated in an open spot at the foot of the small range, which runs on and joins the large one.

“It is a large village and has as many as 12 turrets, but is less formidable from its position than the others are.

“On leaving Kohee the road to Janakhwar passes through deep

and awkward ravines, outside and skirting the hills, and from it to the mouth of the Janakhwar 'Durra' is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and is of the same nature as that between Kundow and Turronee.

"It is by no means desirable for the passage of troops, though the mule train, and guns on elephants, could travel along on an emergency. By reference to the sketch it will be seen that Janakhwar is a 'Durra,' some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, contracted at both ends, and taking the shape of a basin in the centre.

"This Durra intersects the range and may be looked upon as the boundary line between the Khuttuks and Affreedces. It is naturally well adapted for defence, and as far as I was able to judge, I certainly consider the position of Boree a trifle to it, in a military point of view.

"The road runs up the bed of the stream which travels right through the 'Durra,' and is fed by a spring opposite the village of Bukhtearee. The entrance into Janakhwar is some 600 yards wide from base to base of the hills which form and command it. Those to the left do not preserve that gradual rising crest which the hills to the right do, but are formed in consecutive summits or 'ghondies,' which increase in height, and take a more regular shape above the village of Kohce Khail.

"The road and stream are much more under the command of these hills, and the villages which are built on its face would make a fair defence, though there are no turrets amongst them, which those on the right can boast of.

"These hills describe less of a semicircle than those opposite to them, and would prove more difficult, and consequently a larger number of Troops would be necessary to crown them.

"The hills on the right, after taking a parallel direction for about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, run back and form the basin which is represented in the sketch.

"The width of the Durra increases from 600 yards (at its entrance) to about a thousand yards, and at its widest point, which is from the village of Bukhtearee to the base of the hills at the back of Buddo, must be a mile and more.

"The ground about the two villages of Buddo and Undo Khail, is considerably higher than the level of the stream, and is formed by a gradual slope from the base of the hills up to its edge.

"The 'Khwar' or 'Durra' is highly cultivated and produces large crops, as the irrigation from the stream, which flows the whole year, makes it independent of the periodical rains. Water is also near the surface, and there are some few Persian wheels.

"The only ground which is not under cultivation is in the rear of Buddo and Undo Khail. The bed of the stream is studded with

willow and mulberry trees, with large vines spreading over them, and has a most pleasing appearance.

" There are villages in the 'Durra' which are collectively known as Janakhwar, but each has a different name, either after the Khail or the person who first founded them.

" Five are on the left hand side as you enter, and six on the other. Subjoined is a list of them, together with the names of the head men and strength.

No.	Names of Villages.	Names of Mulliks	No. of fighting Men.	Khail.	Remarks.
1	Painda	Tulubdeen & Mo sallee	25	Hussun Khail.	At the foot of the hill in the open, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the entrance on the left.
2	Kohee Khail	The sons of Azeer, Oillah & Zuyref	290		About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile beyond, on the left. On the face of the hill commanding the road.
3	Bukhtearee	Khanzada	180		Do. do do.
4	Bezai Khail (1)...	Khurrey & Zanin	150		A short distance from the other entrance on the face of hill.
5	Bezai Khail (2)...	Do do.....	150		Next to it, and somewhat in the hollow.
6	Mosulleo Kundee	Mosulleo	50		At the mouth of other entrance and in commanding position
7	Buddoo (1).....	Jorrah.....	70		On the right, on the shoulder of the hill, forming the basin on a commanding position with one tower.
8	Buddoo (2).....	Golem and Mahomed, brothers	160		On the opposite side of a ravine in commanding position.
9	Undoo Khail	Toraz Sobha Sardaz	210		Beyond Buddoo and in the open with tower.
10	?	Paeo	160		Near the other entrance & in commanding position.
11	?	?	50		At the entrance and in a strong position.
Total...			1,500		Fighting men.

Janakhwar together with Boree have always afforded protection to any person who might, owing to some criminal act, be obliged to leave his village in the Peshawur valley, and have cherished and maintained their independence throughout the Seikh and Doora-nee rule.

" They had been the head quarters of the marauders who have infested the Peshawur and Attock road, and in fact the greater portion of the Peshawur valley. By these means chiefly they gained a livelihood, and for this purpose some 60 or 70 sowars were kept up at each

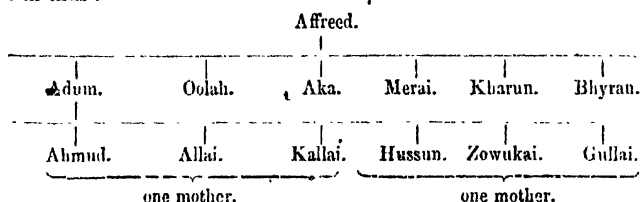
place. Their noted men were Hydurai, Fuzal Khan, Uzresollah, Zurreef and Khurray. The former is still alive and is much respected for his acts of daring. He is covered with wounds, and together with Azazollah had their tendon Achilles cut by the Seikhs, who captured them.

"Fuzal Khan is now a sowar in the Guide Cavalry; Uzuollah is dead; Zurreef was killed in an attack on some Seikh sowars at Peer-paie, near Pubbeis; Khurray is Mullik of Bizat Khail and goes by the name of 'Fitna Baz.'

"The Affreedees of Janakhwar consider themselves to be more independent than the Boreewalls, as no force has ever entered their 'Durra,' and if at any time necessity arises for employing troops in that neighbourhood, it will originate with these people.

"The Mulliks are all more or less on a par, though Khanzadah may possess more influence than the others, owing to his being a wealthy man.

"The people are looked upon as the best sample of any of the Affreedees, and have the credit of being bold and intrepid in action. They one and all belong to the Hussun Khail, and their pedigrees run thus :



"The Hussun Khails inhabit Janakhwar, Moosadurra, Rohce, Turronee, and Akhor. The Zowukais are of Zowukai, Boree, Toorkai, Soorkai, Jummo, Pahai &c. In case of an expedition against Janakhwar, they would be joined and assisted by the whole of the above villages and would muster some 4,000 strong.

"I have made no mention of the other portion of the tribe, as they do not require notice.

"On leaving Janakhwar, I returned to Kohee and entered the Boree valley by Turronee, and visited most of the villages in it. The people had all returned, and had repaired whatever loss they had sustained on the 29th Nov. 1853. They appeared moderately contented; yet it was evident that if they had a choice, they would prefer the terms they have always been on with the Peshawur rulers.

"From some conversation I overheard, I feel confident, that they would strongly object to any thing like interference, and do their best to oppose it, and I can not help thinking, that the good feeling

which now exists may any day be destroyed, as they do not place that value on it which is necessary for its preservation.

"The crops I found to be but indifferent, as they entirely depend upon the falls of rain, and nothing to be compared to those at Janakhtar. The people are supplied with water from a spring which lies at the foot of the hills, at the back of Mawul Khail and Agrawall.

"After leaving Boree, I returned to Bazud Khail, passing down over Kundow, and taking a good inspection of it.

"Kundow, if well defended, would prove a very difficult point, and capable of resisting six times the number of the defenders.

"Supposing the whole of the villages at the foot of the first range were opposed to us, there is but little doubt that the way into the Boree valley would be through Turronee, and over the 'Ghereghish Pass,' but in the event of Kundow not being disputed, I would prefer it for troops and the mule train, as the road is quite level on the Boree side. For elephants and for heavy guns, I would select the Turronee road; that is, proceeding along the newly made one to Shams-hattoo, from Bazud Khail, so as to avoid the ravines as much as possible, and then turning off to Turronee, when opposite to it.—I have the honor &c.

(Signed) FRED. McC. TURNER, *Lt. Guide Corps.*"

The details contained in the above letter have left little room for further remark, yet a few words may be added concerning the Zowukai Affreedees and Gullai. As many as five hundred fighting men of this class reside at Boree, which is a valley formed by the small range of hills opposite Bazud Khail, running in a parallel direction with the main range, from Akhor to Turronee, at a distance varying from one and a half to two and a quarter miles; although the valley of Boree only occupies about three and a half or four miles of this extent.

These Boreewalls, as they are called, have for many years been excluded from Peshawur, during which time they have entirely deprived their livelihood from bloodshed and plunder. At one time they could muster a hundred and fifty horse soldiers, and thirty or forty miles were frequently traversed by them in pursuit of booty. They also had the audacity to take the blame of any murders or robberies off the heads of parties who might be residents of the plains and within reach of the punishment, provided they received a share of the proceeds!

The Zowukai Pass, which connects the valley of Peshawur with that of Kohat, lies beyond the village of Pustonee, but is only used by the Zowukais themselves. Lieut. Miller explored it in 1850, and made a sketch; otherwise it is entirely unknown to Europeans.

The Gullai Khail of Affreedees are of far more importance than

any we have yet mentioned, as they are masters of the Kohat Pass, and have attracted the attention of the British authorities to a greater extent than the others. The value of their position, which connects Peshawur and Kohat, is too well known to require comment. Various expeditions have been sent against them, and plans adopted to keep them quiet; but as yet, neither have succeeded, and in truth, they are just as likely to close the Pass against us as they were in 1849. There are but two plans, which can be adopted with any chance of success, if the Government wishes to bring these turbulent people to their senses, and secure the free use of this Pass, without constant annoyance; the choice of either plan must depend upon circumstances. The first is, to take entire possession of the Pass, the other to keep up a strict blockade, so as not to allow a single man to come out on the plain, and to prevent it being used in any way. If this blockade were kept up a length of time, the inhabitants would be almost forced to leave their homes, for there is little land to cultivate, and they are too lazy to bring such as there is under the plough. They would thus be shut out from the salt mines, and unable to sell wood and other articles in Peshawur, so that the only means of gaining a livelihood would be lost to them.

As the names of some of the Mulliks of the various villages in Boree might be of future use, the following list of them is attached.

In the village of Speentung the Mulliks are Shawullee Goolrung and Uojumai; in the village of Ittum Khail Bur are Ishmail and Shairoo, both of whom have been turned out of the Boree valley and are living in a state of siege, with about thirty of their followers, in a tower in Kohee, they having murdered "Junadar," the famous highwayman. Of Ittum Khail Kooz Futtehshero is Mullik; of Mawul Khail, Koondul and Muddo; of Agrawall, Alum Khan; of Tattoo Rhail, Ghunnee and Khangoie. The Turronee Mulliks are Shurreef Poordil, Oomah, Humzoollah, Gooldeen, Goolzadah, Salai, Mustoo, Rozoo, Alupai, Ukhturai, Zaidoollah, Moizollah and Lutteeff. The Kohee Mulliks are Adulhaig, Matchap; Abdulai, Ameid, Akhon, Umburai, Goolabai, Izuttai, Bhyramai, Ameer, Saldoldeen, Mikhmud, Paodeen and Wazoie. The Mulliks of Pundow are Zillkadir, Joomai and Goolistan. The Mulliks of Kundur are Siffut and Meeroo. Miscellaneous names are: of Sheruk Khail, Must; of Sirkee Khail, Kur Unnai; of Pukho, Gooldoo and Rumbos; of Junobul, Siffut. Janakhwar Mulliks have been named, but a few more names of note are: Izuttai, Lallmeer, Goldarai, Paeo, Surlum, Alladad Khoidad and Kunbur. Goolrung, Shawullee, Koondul have a blood feud with Ishmail and Shairoo, all of Boree.

There are similar petty feuds throughout the Affreedee tribes, but with the exception of the bad feeling which exists between the Bo-

reewalls and the people of Kohce and Tyrronee, there are none of any consequence, and even these are forgotten, when they have a common enemy. To the right of the Kohat Pass are the Bussee Khails, who have never come under the British lash, though perhaps as deserving of it as any. Next to them are the Sapai Affreedees, and on their left the Kokee Khails, who hold the hilly range to the right bank of the Cabul River, including the Khyber Pass. They are more treacherous, lawless, and turbulent than any Khail in the tribe. They spare no one, and a story is told of them having killed a Kaka Khail on the plea that a resort for pilgrims was much wanting in the Khyber, the Khuttuk shrine being so far off. Some years ago a Kaka Khail was really killed by them, and a large body of this sect made the Affreedees pay a considerable sum.

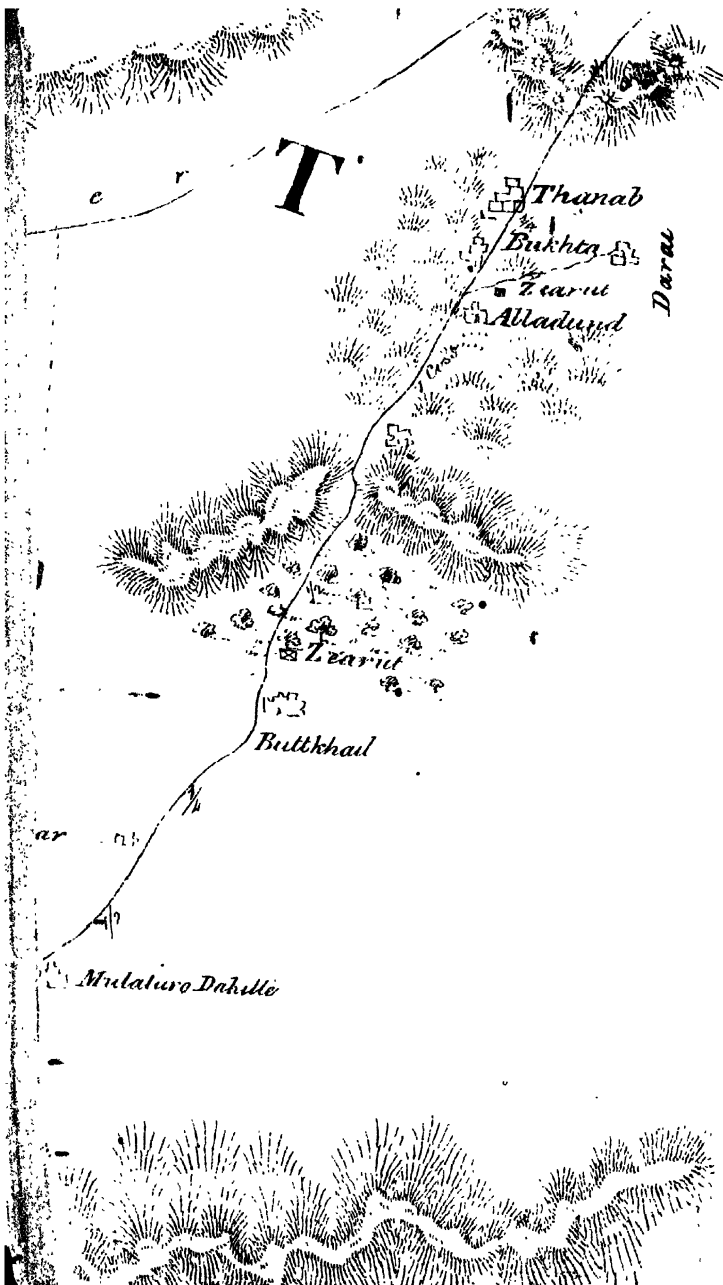
Of the important tribe of the Momunds, who deserve the next place in our consideration, we have not been able to collect as much information as we desire. They are most powerful, and can muster forty-four thousand fighting men. They are of the Surbund branch of Afghans, and are divided into three principal Khails, the Tourkzie, Baezies, and Khwaozies. The portion of the Peshawur frontier occupied by them lies to the north west or nearly so, and extends from the left bank of the Cabul river opposite Tarturra Pass, to the right bank of the Swatt river in the neighbourhood of Abazie.

That portion of the north western frontier of Peshawur, extending from the left bank of the Swatt river to the confines of the Raneezie country, is inhabited by the tribe of Afghans called the Ootman Khails. They belong to the Surbund branch, and are called after Ootman, from whom they are descended, and who settled in these hills in the time of Soltan Mahmood Gluznuvee, after accompanying him on an expedition into Hindostan. They are divided into various Khails, named after the grandsons or great-grandsons of Ootman, and muster nearly seventeen thousand fighting men. Few of these however are actual residents on the frontiers, as they are chiefly distributed over Umbar and Barung, which comprise a tract of country on the right bank of the Swatt river, in rear of the Pindalle range, and in the vicinity of the stupendous mountain of Khy-moor, visible from almost any portion of the Peshawur valley. They are on good terms with their neighbours the Momunds, Swattees, Bajourees and others, but are a good deal cut up among themselves owing to internal feuds. They measured their strength with the Momunds in 1827 and 1850, and on both occasions were defeated after severe contests. Owing to the bad feeling which exists among them, they have been unable to nominate a Khan or Chief, for where one party

acknowledged him, the other would not. Mulliks, Mosullee of Nawadund and Gollahmud of Praug-ghar, are as influential men as any. They had no difference of opinion regarding Rahim-goll-mean (Kaka Khail), for one and all respect him, and all disputes are put into his hands for decision. Kokum-mean, Mullagoree, is highly respected, and resides at Supuree, above Abazie. In 1851-52 he was opposed to the British Government, and did much to disturb his portion of the frontier, but has since presented himself at Peshawur and relinquished his plundering habits. Formerly there was not a theft took place in Eusufie and Hushnuggur, but he was concerned in it, and his notoriety is proverbial. With the exception of Umbar and Barung, the whole of the Ootman country is hilly. It is all well cultivated, and the irrigation from the Swatt river enables it to produce fine crops. A good deal of land in the hills is cultivated, but does not equal that of Umbar or Barung, as it depends on the periodical rains for its crops.

An interesting spot, which goes by the name of Totaie, is the next place requiring and deserving mention; and for this purpose we shall make use of the very correct description given of it by Captain Miller, formerly of the Guide Corps.

Totaie is a small valley situated west of Raneezie and north of Gundaree. It contains three villages, and is generally commanded by the hills around, with three roads leading into it. The villages are supplied with water from two nullahs which form a junction near "Koth" (one of the three villages), and run on to Gundaree, passing the other two of Killa and Pullie, which are close to it. This nullah is called "Jindee," and commences in a small defile of a hill, which divides the Totaie valley from that of Swatt. The three roads are: first, the Jindee Nullah Road which, as above stated, leads along the nullah of that name, and passing Killa and Pullie, about half a mile from the former, enters the hills, and is fully commanded for about four miles. It is unfit for camels, and although horsemen can pass along its bed, they do so with difficulty, and not unless pressed or unable to get round to the Durwazgie road. This nullah has water in it at all times, and after a heavy fall of rain in the hills, is in many places unpassable. After winding through the hills, it is crossed by the Durwazgie road, and the two roads become one, leading direct to Koth, containing some hundred and twenty houses, and which is just out of matchlock range; but there is a space to the north of the village, large enough for several thousand men to encamp without being under fire of the hills. The Jindee Nullah passes to the east of Koth, and winds in a north-west direction, up a narrow defile, which is formed by the parallel ranges of Araznao



and Kandree. At about four miles from the mouth of the defile, a small spur runs across from one range to the other, called "Lelli Jutti," and it is from this that water collects, which forms the Jindee Nullah. The Durwazgie road is the only one by which heavy baggage could be conveyed to Totaie, and with little trouble might be made fit for guns to pass, as bullocks trailing large beams traverse it constantly without difficulty. Leaving Gundaree, it crosses the Jindee Nullah, which is here deep and broad, but perfectly practicable for guns. From this point the road passes over an open space for three and a half miles, crossing the nullah called "Molla Kundur," where the hills come down in a line with it, but are not in range of a matchlock. Beyond this the road follows the course of the Pullosee Nulla for a mile and a half, the hills nearing the road. At this point it is fully commanded, and a low range called "Durwazgie" crosses, over which the road has to pass; the range, however, is very low. This is the only point where any difficulty would be experienced, after the passage of which the road winds along a narrow ravine, and is good but fully commanded from both sides. It continues in this way for two miles, where it enters the valley and runs on to Koth. The third, or "Euzshur" road, is very bad indeed, as horsemen are obliged to dismount and travel the greater part of it in single file. After reaching the Rancezie village of "Erozshur," it crosses a low range, connecting that in rear of Bhyram Kote with the Araznao mountain. The approach to the above village is by no means easy, being through a narrow basin intersected by deep ravines. Descending on the Totaie side, it passes the village of Bur, which contains about one hundred houses. This is situated on a nullah which supplies it with water, and is commanded from the hills on three sides. From Bur the road runs into the village of "Maina,"—which contains a hundred and twenty houses,—at a distance of a mile and a half, and is commanded to the north and south. Beyond Maina the valley opens a little, and the road leads on to Kote. These are the only three villages in Totaie, that can turn out about two hundred and eighty matchlocks, and are dependencies of Swatt.

We conclude these topographical details with a few notes collected by Major Lumsden, on the roads and passes leading into Swatt and Bonair, which may perhaps be of use at some future period. The only thing wanting to elucidate them was a sketch map of the country. This we now furnish, having collected the requisite information in Eusufzie, from residents of Swatt. Although it may not be correct in every detail, it will answer the

purpose for which it is intended, of giving some idea of the country.

The Roads leading into Swatt and Bonair are as follows. First is the Mullakund Kotul road; the fort of this Kotul is about a coss and a half from Dugai, a village in Raneezie; for the first three quarters of a coss the road is open, crossing a deep ravine once, besides two small ones, and leading round the spur under which Dugai is situated, and passing between it and the main range. As the road nears the angle, formed by the Dugai spur, branching off from the main range, it becomes commanded by lower spurs from both sides. One of these nearly crosses this little valley from the Dugai spur, and the other a little further from the Mullakund range. Beyond this spur is a small basin at the apex of the valley, with a tank of water; from this point the ascent commences. So far the road somewhat resembles the approach to the Kohat Pass from the Kohat side, although the Mullakund road is less commanded. The ascents of the two Kohats also resemble each other, except that the Mullakund is considerably longer, and the road only made wide enough for the passage of a pair of bullocks at a time. Horsemen pass over it every day, as well as camels; but the traders generally make the loads of the camels very light by dividing one load into two, before commencing the ascent. On the crest of the Kotul two large masses of rock considerably encroach on the roadway, and beyond them is an open space, which affords the camping ground for three or four hundred Brinjarah bullocks, and near it is a small spring of water, close to which are four huts which have been built by Gajurs from Swatt. The hills right and left, though rugged and steep, are every where accessible to good Light Infantry, and there is a pathway, which, leaving the road about a mile from the bottom of the Kotul, leads right up the face of the hill to the huts at the spring; the main road is here and there commanded from spurs on both sides, but all these spurs can be surmounted. The descent of the Kotul on the Swatt side is not so long as the ascent, and much better. The road runs right down the face of the hill, is not commanded on either side, and in many places six bullocks could go abreast. About three miles from the foot of the Kotul is the village of "Khar," and two miles further to the eastward "But Khail," a village of three hundred houses. This is by far the best road into Swatt, and the one chiefly used by traders from Peshawur, and the Kohat salt mines, as well as those coming from Kashkar to Peshawur, and is the only road fit for the passage of a body of troops with any baggage. The sole difficulty in entering Swatt by this route is, that a considerable body of troops would be required to watch the Raneezie valley and keep up the communication, as there is a long line of broken

country, intersected by ravines, between Shere-ghur (the last British village) and the foot of the Kotul, and to force the Kotul itself would require four thousand men at least. There is also the Morah Kotul road. The direct route from Peshawur to the foot of this Kotul, in the cold season, is to cross the Cabul river by the bridge of boats, on the Shubkudur road, and ford the Swatt river at Toonugzie; then march to Jelallah, next day to Loondkhwur, and the day after to a spot about two miles above Kasimai, where a large black rock stands on the open plain, and on the left bank of the Pullie ravine, where there is plenty of water and good open encamping ground for troops. From this to Morah Banda, at the foot, is a distance of fourteen miles, the first half of the way to Pullie lying along the bottom of the nullah and deep ravine. Here the road enters the Pullie valley, and crossing out of the ravine called Sher-Khance, again crosses and skirts the hills to the left for two miles, after which it again crosses two branch ravines and arrives at Morah Banda at the western end of the Bazdurra valley. Here troops must encamp according to the ground, which is broken and commanded by different spurs. The Morah Kotul is considerably steeper than the Mullakund, and the road not so good, although used daily by the troopers of the Pullie Khans, and by Eusufzie traders from Loondkhwur. The face of the hills to the right and left is encumbered with fragments of rocks, and is difficult for footmen, but there is a pathway which leads from the foot of the Kotul over the range, and a little to the left of the regular road. This is dignified by the name of the "*Cheral*" Pass, but is only passable for footmen. At about a third of the way down, on the Swatt side of the range, is a good spring of water by a Chenar tree, and a little further on the road passes the hamlet of "*Nullah bundah*." It then winds about for three miles amongst the lower features of the Morah hills, entering the open valley of Swatt at the town of *Thanah*, containing about a thousand houses and the residence of the Pullie Khan. Some of the houses of Thanah are commanded by spurs from Morah, and the Swatt river is about half a mile to the northward of the town. This and the Mullakund are the only two regular passes direct from Peshawur, and the latter is by far the best for the passage of troops.

The following is the route from Eusufzie viâ Bonair to Swatt. From Churru Kuporah, in Eusufzie, at a distance of one day's march up the Soodunu valley, is the village of Chargholic, on the bank of the Mokam nullah, which at all times affords an ample supply of water. On this road there are one or two places which would require repairs for the passage of guns. The next march is to Soorkhawai, on the Bonair border, though belonging to Eusufzie; the distance is about nine miles, and the road crosses two or three ravines.

Soorkhawai is a small hamlet, where no provisions can be procured, and there is only a limited supply of water from a single spring, which however is enough to feed a small stream about a foot wide and an inch deep. From Soorkhawai the road leads along a narrow pass, encumbered with large round stones and jungle, with hills rising up on both sides, for four miles to the foot of a small Kotul called the "*Umbhilah kundow*." This Kotul is about a mile in length and easy, being passed by camels, bullocks &c.; two miles beyond is the village of Umbailah, of eighty houses; and two miles beyond that again the road leads over another little Kotul like the last; two miles further is Deric, a village of a hundred and sixty houses. From Deric the road leads viâ Rega to Krupu, six miles, passing through a gap in a low range of hills, about a hundred and fifty yards wide; four miles beyond this little pass is the village of Elaie, with its three hundred houses. From Elaie the road passes three miles along the plains of Bonair to Torosuck, which is said to be one of the largest villages in it, containing about twelve hundred houses; thence to Gatkulla, of fifty houses, two miles. Four miles more bring the traveller to Jewar, of one hundred houses; half a mile beyond he reaches the foot of the "*Kurakur Kotul*."

The ascent of the Kurakur Kotul is by a zigzag path up the face of a steep mountain, with six distinct landing places in the zigzag. Bullocks and mules cross the Kotul; but on an average three are lost out of every drove of four hundred, by getting off the path and tumbling down the hill into the Khud below. Camels can be taken over, by lightening the loads, and leading each carefully. The ascent is about two miles, and the descent about a mile and a half; at the foot of the hill on the Swatt side is a spring of water which feeds a ravine, running along the foot of hills, forming a narrow pass along which the road runs. This pass is about a gunshot in width by five miles in length, winding along the lower parts of the mountain, and coming out on the plain of Swatt at "*Bieree Kote*," a village of four hundred houses. The hill to the right and left of the Kotul is accessible for Light Infantry, though rough and steep.

To the northward of this pass comes the Gokundown Kotul, which is higher and steeper than the Kurakur and passable for mules and bullocks only. In many places the road leads along the face of the cliff, and is so narrow that only one bullock can pass at a time. Some idea of it can be formed from the fact, that it takes a hillman from gun fire to 4 P. M. to drive a mule from the Swatt side into Bonair. There are two villages at the foot of this Kotul on the Bonair side, called "*Gokundown*," which give the name to the Kotul, and the nearest village on the Swatt side is Kokarie, of a hundred

and fifty houses, situated at the head of a durra. This Kotul passes the range between the Ittum and Dosurrah mountains, and must be very high. There is a pass crossing from Bonair to Swatt, between these last two Kotuls, but only used by footmen, and as a mule can not be taken over it further description is unnecessary. It goes by the name of the Cherat Kotul.

Of all the Kotuls between Swatt and Bonair the Kurrakur is decidedly the best, though many traders prefer going round by the Loondkhuwur valley and the Morah Kotul to it. People from Huzarah and the Sithanah Hindostanees use the Kurrakur road, passing through Bonair and crossing the Mahabun range at Gunduff, about five miles below Kubul on the Indus.

None of these passes has ever been seen by an European, and some latitude must be allowed for the defects of Native description, but the above particulars have been carefully collected, and will be found in the main correct.

ART. II.—THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS AND THE NEPAULESE WAR.

History of the Political and Military Transactions in India, during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. By HENRY T. PRINSEP, of the Bengal Civil Service. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street.

ON a late public occasion a statesman who has ruled the councils of our country for six years, and held a prominent place in six administrations, declared that the History of England had yet to be written. If this be true of a land whose annals have been illustrated by the majestic paragraphs of Clarendon, by the philosophy and "inimitable elegancies" of Hume, by the judicial criticism of Hallam, and the political pencil of the brilliant Macaulay, what can one say

of the History of India? Orme's worn-eaten volumes, Mill's dusty boards, Thornton's uncut pages, spare us a reply. Anglo-Indians may possibly read those works to profit by them, British statesmen may skim them before an Indian debate, members of the Press may *cram* them to work up an article; but the general reader avoids them as prolix and ponderous, and flies to some flashy epitome which gives about as accurate a notion of British India, as a despatch does of a battle, or an epitaph of a man!

It is a bitter reproach to us, that the wonderful exploits of our soldiers, and the great achievements of our administrators in the East, have not found a fitting Annalist; and it is probable that the reproach will be a lasting one. The time has gone by when a continuous History of India was likely to be successful. As the period of History extends, and the materials for its composition accumulate, there is always less and less chance of its ever being undertaken in a continuous form. A combination of genius and industry is required for such a vast undertaking as it then becomes; and it is notorious that these seldom co-exist. Genius may be found with a certain amount of industry; industry with a small spark of genius; but to mould into an attractive shape the enormous mass of materials, which has been accumulated during the consolidation of our Eastern Empire, is what we feel assured no genius, devoid of industry, could contemplate, or no industry, shorn of genius, aspire to. Should, however, such a rare combination by chance be brought to bear on the unexhausted records, the uncouth idioms, and the entangled political problems of the East, a grand incentive would be wanting to carry out the work. In the present era of our literature a task of such magnitude is not necessary for the genius, which would aspire to the name of Historian. Such stupendous works are not suited to the superficial spirit of an age in which GROTE gives place to Prescott, and in which an Indian Herodotus would find himself rudely jostled by the most superficial of compilers. A Raleigh would no longer, in quest of doubtful fame, employ his hours in a History of the World; nor a Gibbon devote twenty years of his life to condensing the narratives of a hundred forgotten historians, and dispelling the darkness of fifteen cimmerian centuries. The life of a rebel and the account of a campaign have sustained, for nearly two thousand years, the reputation of Sallust; and it scarcely requires a continuation of the History of England, in order that the same laurels may be obtained by his modern prototype—Macaulay!

Voltaire, it is said, at one time thought of writing a History of the conquest of Bengal. It is to be regretted he did not carry out his thought. We should in that case have had a brilliant and

valuable contribution to our literature ;—a work, probably, rivalling in interest and graphic power his *Life of Charles*, and in philosophic analysis his *age of Louis*. We should have had the intrigues of the Palace of Moorsheadabad portrayed with all the vividness of the Camp of Baltagi, and the Battalions of Plassey and Buxar celebrated as the far famed column of Fontenoy. We should have had a magnificent epic in prose, would have heard sung the renown of the soldier-founders of our Eastern Empire, and the names of Clive and Carnac would have become as familiar in the mouth of Europe, as those of Condé and Turenne. It would not then have been left to an intelligent Frenchman to write, that in India Great Britain had gained wealth without glory, and conquered kingdoms, by exercising all the craftiness of Pizarro, without requiring the aid of the genius of Cortez.*

There never was a more fertile field for History than India. The records of Leadenhall Street, the minutes of the Council Chamber, the reports of public men, the correspondence of Residents at Native Courts—all form a rich mine of materials. In these formidable archives, every event, trifling or important, in every possible phase of its occurrence, every proposition, with every possible motive for its adoption or rejection, is treated at a length and with a minuteness of detail, which, in many instances, is no where warranted by its significance. Here, besides the fate of Empires and the destiny of nations, may be ascertained the grounds on which a Director or a Member of Council objected to the admission of sweepers and water-carriers to the benefits of pension. Here may be learnt, besides the gravest measures of Government and the most serious political relations between state and state, the hour at which a Scindia may awake from his slumbers, or the appointment, perhaps, of a new attendant to shampoo the Great Mogul's imperial toes. Here may be found wholesome directions for a Revenue settlement, affecting a hundred millions of subjects, and rules for the disposal of the infinitesimal proceeds of the grass of graveyards! † Be-

* “ Dans l'Inde aussi la Grande Bretagne amassant du profit sans honneur depuis vingt ans elle s'aggrandissait sans relâche, tantôt par la corruption, quelquefois en répétant les cruautés de Pizarro, sans jamais avoir besoin du génie de Cortez.” *Guerre dans la Péninsule par le Lieutenant Général Foy.*

† It will be in the memory of our readers, how this petty ecclesiastical perquisite set, last year, the whole state machinery in motion; how the Secretary to the Government of the North-West Provinces addressed the late Military Board; the Military Board, the Government of Bengal; and the Government of Bengal, the Bishop of Calcutta; and how some Secretary had forthwith “ the honour to inform” every chaplain in the Bengal Presidency, that it appeared to the Honorable the Lieut.-Governor, that the grass growing in the burial grounds and churchyards ought certainly not to be regarded as a private property or perquisite, but the sale of it left to the Reverend Chaplains. “ with a view to

sides these records and the regular histories, there are the writings of many able men, of great Indian experience, who have treated of different periods, and left few facts to be gleaned in the paths they have trod. Scott, Wilks, Forbes, Grant Duff, Malcolm, and many writers on military subjects, have thrown much light on the transactions they have discussed. Mr. Prinsep, whose work appears at the head of this article, is eminent among this class of writers. His volumes contain an elaborate exposition of all the events of any importance between the years 1813 and 1823, and without any high pretensions are drawn up with considerable accuracy and skill. It is difficult to describe with success such a chaotic period of politics, as the administration of the Marquis of Hastings; but Mr. Prinsep has managed, nevertheless, to weave it into both an intelligible and a somewhat interesting narrative. He possesses the great advantage of an intimate knowledge of India. His style, which nowhere rises to eloquence, is everywhere clear and forcible. His views, though he was trammelled in a measure by his official position, are sound and practical. As an officer of Government, he is of course not very ready to find fault with its measures; and it is spared in consequence, on many occasions when its policy is manifestly deserving of censure. His work is more valuable for the facts it presents, than for the opinions it inculcates. It is more fitted to instruct the man who reads in order to write, than him who reads to be amused. No man who had not read it, could write successfully of that period; and few men would read it, who wished merely for information about that period. It has, accordingly, met the fate of nearly all works hitherto written on India: it has passed into a record. It was first published in 1820 as a *narrative*; but subsequently revised and enlarged, and finally given to the world under the more sounding title of a *History* of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.

That period was, for many reasons, one of the most momentous in our career in India. It was ushered in by one of the gravest disputes that has ever distracted our councils. The principles of Finance were at variance with all those principles by which the integrity of Empires is preserved inviolate. The Governor General was at war with his Council on the most vital matters of State. The Directors at the India House, and Canning at the Board

the proceeds being employed by them towards the conservation and orderly keeping up of the enclosures, walks &c.—an object which requires frequent slight outlays." The *Friend of India* rather felicitously compared the attribute of the Bengal Government displayed in this instance, with that of Heimdall, the ancient Scandinavian watchman of the skies; who, says the Edda, was so intent upon his function that he could *hear* the wool grow on the sheep's back, and the very grass as it sprung up in the fields:

of Control urged a retrenchment of our expenditure, a reduction of our establishments, and a system of rigid non-interference with Native States, as necessary to our stability and financial success. On the other hand Metcalfe at Delhi, Elphinstone at Poona, Jenkins at Nagpoor,—all the talents and all the experience of the Indian services—called for an increase to the army, a grand protectorate of the small principalities, and a crusade against the depredational Leagues which infested the country, as necessary to the security of our Provinces and the credit of our Government. Dividends were pitted against honor. The commercial spirit prevailed in the rulers to the imminent danger of their rule. The short-sighted and imperfect settlement of 1805 had worked its sure work. The whole of India was in a ferment, into which, unless vigorous steps were taken, our provinces also would speedily be thrown. Our treasury was empty; the strength of our army diminished as far as possible; our frontiers were extended, our enemies numerous, and struggles everywhere impending. Emboldened by weak concessions, the Nepaulese were threatening us from their eyrie in the Himalayas. Sated with the plunder of Malwa and Maharashtra which they had made a desert, the lawless hordes of the Pindarees, who owned no dominion but that of the spear and the saddle, and had no watchword but plunder, glared at our fertile provinces with the covetous eye of freebooters. Ameer Khan, wielding the influence of Holkar's name with his wild Puthan levies, little better than the Pindarees, waited but a favourable opportunity to strike. Hating us with the hereditary hatred of their houses, Scindia and the Bhonslay were in league with the Peshwa to rise in arms on our first reverse. Not quite tamed by the vigorous diplomacy of 1809, Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, looked jealously askance at our extending Empire and was ready to aid the Nepaulese. It was a crisis, in which one false step or one great catastrophe might have put an end to our Empire in Hindostan.

Considering the short time that had elapsed since the victories of Wellesley and of Lake had placed India at our feet, it may be asked, how such a crisis had arrived. However much opinions differed at the time, and were expressed with all the bitterness of men whose convictions are irradicable, all now admit, that it was owing to the narrow, unjust, and undignified arrangements we had so hastily concluded with the Mahratta states at the close of the war. The marvellous successes which had attended our arms might have placed us, with an accession of moral and material strength, in the proud position of the guardians of Hindostan; but considerations of finance being made paramount to considerations of honor, we relinquished the advantages within our grasp, with a cold calcu-

lating selfishness consigned the country we ought to have protected to the horrors of an unparalleled anarchy, and involved ourselves, within a short space of ten years, in complications which seemed endless, and which were unravelled only by costly wars.

It may be said, that all the advantages we had gained by the war were forfeited on the very day peace was concluded. By the supplementary articles to the treaty of Sirjee Angengaum we had conciliated in Scindia an enemy almost in arms against us, whose armies had fallen upon our retreating troops under Manson, whose arrogance had done violence to the person of our envoy. One stroke of the pen had transformed Holkar, in hostile attitude on the Hyphasis, from an abject beggar to a powerful prince. We had withdrawn our protection from powers that were bound to us by the closest ties of gratitude and interest, and strengthened others whose only interest was anarchy, and whose most deeply-rooted feeling was hatred to the British Government as the friend of order and improvement. Our retreat from the struggle betrayed such weakness, that the prestige which our prowess had won was quite destroyed; and as the policy which dictated these deplorable arrangements continued to animate our councils, it need be no longer matter of surprise, that our enemies should have taken heart and prepared to renew a strife, from which, even if vanquished, they might yet hope for profit.

It is a task of no small difficulty to give a clear idea of the political and social state of central India at this time. For upwards of ten years all the worst passions of lawless and depraved man had been let loose on that devoted region. The extortionate prince, the rapacious mercenary, the hardened freebooter—all vied with one another in that bloody arena, exerting the horrible energies of irresponsible plunderers to oppress the weak and convulse the elements of order. The systematic avarice of the great Mahratta princes found ready means at its disposal, in the many bands of reckless soldiery which swarmed throughout the land; swollen, seemingly, by the times in which they lived, and the events occurring around them. Ameer Khan and Mahomed Shah Khan, with their paid and organised Puthans, were always ready at the beck of Scindia or of Holkar to plunder a minor potentate, or levy exactions from an obnoxious district. The Pindarces, not before unknown, had now obtained a dangerous pre-eminence. Though despicable as troops, yet by their numbers, their cruelty, their activity and their energy, they had become the terror of the peasantry from the Jumna to the Godavery. It has been truly said, that rapine was their trade, and cruelty their pastime. Every species of atrocity, which the mind of man could devise, or his heart, lowered

to the hardened level of the brutes, perpetrate, was employed by these wretches against their victims. A bare recital of the cruelties they were in the daily habit of enacting to possess themselves speedily of treasure, would freeze the blood and harrow up the soul. Their expeditions, undertaken for the sole object of plunder, were performed with the utmost celerity; and it was almost impossible to interpose between them and their prey, or to intercept their flight. Their intangibility was a formidable feature of their power. Carrying no camp equipage or baggage, each man mounted on his hardy horse, with his arms, and a few days' food, could scour the country at the rate of fifty miles a day, and baffle the activity of the lightest troops.

In the last century they had attended the Mahratta armies, as the jackals of more lordly plunderers; employed to aid a rout, or gut an already pillaged camp. They had usually placed themselves under the wing of some powerful chief, whose name they took. There had been Scindia-shahce and Holkar-shahce Pindarees. But of late their leaders had become bolder, and formed independent bands. They had gained, by their imposing attitude from the great chiefs, or wrested by force from the aboriginal Rajas of the Nerbudda, tracts of land to pasture their horses, or fortresses to secure their families and their booty. They had now become a Power,—a predatory power of formidable dimensions;—of heterogeneous materials indeed, and without any common feeling of nationality or religion; but stimulated by the most active passion in the breast of man, and able, under the influence of a leading genius, to act in union and claim dominion. The rise of Sivajee and of Hyder was a warning to us, that such things might again be. So great an authority as Metcalfe compared the then existing state of India with the time when the Mahratta mountaineers, conscious of their power, sapped the strength of the Mogul Empire; and did not hesitate to predict that, unless forearmed, our supremacy would yield to the supremacy of Rapine.

The Pindarees formed themselves into Durras or bands, and ranged themselves under the banner of a leader, who was generally chosen on account of his birth, bravery, or love of enterprize. Their principal leaders at this time were Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Dost Mahomed. Cheetoo's Durra numbered about fifteen thousand horse, Kureem's four thousand, and Dost Mahomed's about six thousand. There were many other chiefs, and the whole number of these mounted robbers amounted to about fifty thousand. Their ravages were at first confined to Malwa and Nemaar; but as these provinces became impoverished, and the numbers of their bands swollen by the loose spirits engendered by their havoc, they gradu-

ally extended their predatory incursions. In 1809, they made a descent upon the territory of our ally the Guicowar; and three years afterwards, startled from a repose of half a century the quiet inhabitants of Mirzapore and Gya.

It was now evident to every one, that without their eradication there was no security for our rule. No established state could tolerate, within a few marches of its frontiers, an irresponsible power which subsisted solely by plunder. The internal prosperity of such a state, with such a neighbour, would only make it a more likely field for his incursions. As its wealth increased so would its danger. To act annually on the defensive against so many thousands of nimble thieves would involve such vast preparations, that, even in a financial point of view, a great war of extirpation was to be preferred; and this was the view that was finally taken both by the Home and Indian Government. In pursuing this policy against the Pindarees, it was foreseen that prodigious resources would have to be called forth. To fight these enemies was impossible; they would never fight. To pursue them was unavailing; they excelled in flight. It would be necessary to encompass them by a cordon of armies; to drive them to bay at the point of the bayonet; to raze their fortresses, to imprison their leaders, and to compel the native powers to give them no countenance in the future.

To effect these objects, it would be necessary to set troops in motion from the three Presidencies, and from the territories of our allies, the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the Guicowar; to take under our protection the Rajas of Jyepoor, Jondpoor, and Oodipoor,—the prey of the Puthan leaders; to secure the co-operation of the greater Mahratta Princes—Scindia, Holkar and the Bhonslay, and obtain a free admission for our armies into their provinces, as a base for future operations. This last part of the scheme was beset with many difficulties. Those Princes regarded with the utmost jealousy our system of subsidiary arrangements—a novel kind of encroachment, which they foresaw would soon sap the foundations of their power. They looked upon a subsidy for a contingent force as an honorable species of *Chouth*, not the less dangerous to their influence because it was spent in the service of good order. With a firm faith in our individual character for honesty and uprightness, they were, from the antecedents of our rule, intensely suspicious of the policy of our Government. They *could* not imagine what would prevent our seizing when we had the power; and saw a menace in every movement of our troops. Moreover they all favored the Pindarees—the objects of our attack. Scindia had given them forts and pasture lands, and could count on their assistance in war. The Bhonslay, though often in danger from them himself, preferred the possible loss of

property from their supremacy to the certain loss of influence from the supremacy of the British. In Rajpootana our diplomatic plans would be thwarted by the hostile operation of treaties. Scindia, by virtue of our own engagements, opposed the protection of the Rajas of Joudpoor and Oodipoor. Ameer Khan, who dictated to the Durbar of Holkar, and grew rich by the plunder of the Rajpoots, was not likely to put an end willingly to a state of affairs by which he profited so largely in wealth and power. Our ally the Peshwa,—materially weak but morally influential—was restless under the stringent articles of the treaty of Basssein. He was both perfidious and treacherous ; never so sure to be inimical, as when his professions were friendly ;—a man whom no vows could bind, no kind offices conciliate ; a rooted intriguer in the hands of an unscrupulous favorite,—ambitious of placing himself at the head of the Mahrattas, and of reviving the traditional glories of his race. It is believed that he early began to negotiate with the princes of the Mahratta family, to form a grand confederacy against the British ; and it was known that if they declared war, he would watch a favorable opportunity to join them.

It was foreseen then that in our dealings with the Native states, preparatory to operations against the Pindarees, so many complications would arise, as would almost inevitably ensure a rupture with them all : and it became a grave question, whether means should be taken to break up the Pindarce League, at the risk of war with the whole independent power of Hindostan. This was the point which agitated the minds of Indian statesmen, when their attention was momentarily distracted by the disputes with Nepaul.

It is with those disputes we have more particularly to deal ; and we have been led into the foregoing remarks, merely with a view to point out the distracted political condition of the country when we were called on to enter into warfare with a new enemy. It would take up too much space for the limits of an article, to represent at full length the scenes of the great Central Indian Drama :—to tell how Bajee Row, the Peshwa, and his foul favorite Trim-bukjee violated the ægis of the Company's Government, and outraged both the law of nations and the laws of their religion, by the murder of an ambassador and a Brahman ; how the one, driven from black crime to pitiful deceit, and from deceit to open violence, tried his strength with us at Kirkee, and miserably failing, became first a fugitive, then a prisoner and a pensioner, and ceased to be a prince ; how the other, tracked like a wild beast through the pestilent jungles of Candeish, was seized and sent, like a second Prometheus, a prey to the vulture of remorse, to expiate his heinous offences on the rock of Chunar ; how the heir of

the line of Sivajee was dragged from a dungeon, and mounted on a throne; how the death of Rugojee Bhonslay secured our ascendancy at the Court of Berar; how his infatuated successor,—who, after he had strangled his cousin,* was elevated by our influence,—following in the footsteps of the Peshwa, rose in arms against us at Seetabuldee; how by matchless valor and endurance, two weak Native battalions, and three weak troops of Native cavalry, crushed in that one action the fabric of his power, and reduced in one day the rebel to the condition of a suppliant; how the ruler of Nagpore became a captive, a fugitive, and finally a beggar at Lahore; how an imposing force coerced the reluctant Scindia, and saved him, much against his will, from the fate of his master and his friend; how the attitude of Ochterlony and the diplomacy of Metcalfe detached the armed robber Ameer Khan from the interests of the fraternity of robbers, and effected the salvation of the Rajpoot states; how the besotted Sirdars of Holkar—determined to hazard a battle with the British—put their wanton but beautiful Regent to death; how the rout of Melhidpore destroyed the hopes of the house of Mulhar Row, and the Treaty of Numdisoor reduced him to the condition of a protected prince; and how eleven different armies, advancing from North, South, East and West, encompassed, beset, and finally succeeded in annihilating the noisome and predatory monster which our faulty policy had engendered. These subjects form one of the most interesting epochs in our Indian History, and one which has never yet been properly treated. Whether for the extent of the operations, the celerity and precision of the movements of the armies, the wonderful achievements of our native troops,† or the completeness and moral grandeur of the results, this great war has never been surpassed.

But now for Nepal. Not the least of the evils which an imbecile policy had bequeathed to the Government of Lord Hastings, were disputes with the Goorkas. That race ruled in Nepal, where, after a long course of usurpation and violence, it had at length succeeded in subduing its neighbours, and establishing a pre-dominant power. The rugged nature of the country, skirting the base of the Himalayas, was well suited to the hardy genius of this

* It was not known till some time after, that Pursajee Bhonslay had died a violent death, or that Appa Sahib had had any hand in the atrocious deed.

† Every officer in command of Native Troops, who feels he is losing confidence in his men, should read the accounts of the battles of Seetabuldee and Corrygaum, and he will there learn that Natives properly led will do anything in war. Those battles—whether we regard the bloodshed, the duration of the conflict, the privations endured, or the numbers respectively engaged—all the tests of merit in a victory—will bear comparison with any battles that have ever been fought in India.

people who were destined to rule it. It was wooded and mountainous ; its passes narrow and inaccessible. The Goorkas were courageous, crafty, and aspiring ;—like the Ligurians of Livy : “*hostis levis et velox et repentinus, qui nullum usquam tempus, nullum locum, quietum aut securum esse sineret* ;”—an enemy active and persevering, from whose hostility none was secure. The rich and defenceless plains beneath them stimulated alike their cupidity and their enterprize, and a leader was soon found to give them a policy and conduct them to power. Prithce Narayun Sah, who for an Asiatic may be called an original genius, because he could adapt to his own purposes the inventions of others, having witnessed the brilliant victories gained by British armies against immensely superior forces in the conquest of Bengal, organised on the system of the conquerors an armed force of his countrymen, with which, after a protracted struggle of ten years, he finally overthrew the Solar dynasty of Katmandoo, and subjugated the valley of Nepaul. In the course of this struggle, he signalized the bravery of his troops by defeating, at Mukwanpore, the Mogul viceroy of Bengal, who had endeavoured to check his career of conquest ; and the great natural strength of his country was revealed to him by a success little less signal ; for its dense forests, difficult passes, and swollen streams baffled the attempts of a British force, which had been despatched in 1767, by the Government of Fort William, under the command of an able officer, to prop up the last of the Kings of Katmandoo.

Four years after the conquest of the country Prithce Narayan died ; but the system he had so successfully originated, was pursued by his successors, and in one generation the Goorkas had spread their dominion from the Teesta to the Sutlej, for eight hundred miles along the Northern frontiers of our Empire. Most of this territory had been in the possession of petty princes, brutish and ignorant, steeped in vice and sensuality, at feud with their neighbours and distrusted by their subjects ; who soon fell, one by one, before the intrigue or the violence of the crafty and vigorous race opposed to them. The policy usually adopted against them, which was proudly compared by the Goorkas with our own, was, to interfere in their constantly occurring disputes, and, awaiting an opportunity for the exertion of fraud or force, to absorb their territories and extinguish their families. It was the fable, too completely exemplified, of the oyster and the shells.

While the dominion of the Goorkas was thus rapidly extending, their Court seems always to have been subject to the same vile influences as other Oriental Courts. On the death of Prithce Narayun's son in 1775, the supreme power was usurped by a brother,

to the exclusion of the rightful heir who was a minor ; and a contest ensued between the usurper and the Queen Mother, terminating only in her death. When the minor became a man, he destroyed his uncle, and assumed the purple ; but, being of too tyrannical a disposition to wear it with success, he was dethroned by a powerful faction of his people—the Pandes—and driven into exile at Benares. The ruling party proving unpopular, he was after a few years recalled to the throne. But adversity had taught him nothing, and he used his power only to gratify his revenge. A second conspiracy was quickly hatched by members of the persecuted faction, and he was killed in open durbar, in 1805, by one of the conspirators. A furious civil broil ensued between the partisans of two hostile factions, the Pandes and the Thapas, in which, after most of the chief men of the state had been slain and nearly all the royal family extinguished, the Thapas prevailed. An infant son of the murdered monarch, who had been secreted in the female apartments, and saved with much difficulty, was proclaimed by Bheem Sein, one of the Thapas, under the name of Kurman Jodli Bikram Sah. This was the reigning Monarch of Nepaul, when war broke out with the British Government in 1814 ; and the affairs of the country were at that time managed by an oligarchy, who kept the young monarch in leading strings.

During all these troubles, a standing army was kept up on a liberal footing, the Goorkas having a very just perception of the principal source of their power. They always evinced the greatest jealousy and distrust of the British ; and two attempts on our part, to establish amicable relations by the appointment of Residents, had signally failed.* Although in this, they undoubtedly displayed a characteristic of barbarism, yet they were by no means blind and ignorant barbarians, like the Burmese, who considered their own power invincible and underrated that of their enemies. It was, in fact, a too acute perception of the greatness of the power of the British, without a correspondent belief in their moderation, which gave rise to the jealousy. The example of Tippoo, and the other powers of India, who had been subdued by us, was ever before their eyes ; and not knowing moderation themselves, they could conceive no just idea of it in others. While such was the state of their mind, it must be evident, that, so long as vigor was displayed in our councils, war with the Nepaulese was a very remote contingency. But unfortunately, while the Goorkas were pushing their conquests successfully in the hills, and making occasionally little encroachments on our frontiers, the policy of non-interference and conciliation was rampant at Fort

* Colonel Kirkpatrick was despatched by Lord Cornwallis, and Captain Knox by Lord Wellesley.

William. So after a series of petty aggressions on their part, passed over by us, and many weak concessions made on our part, the sentiments of the Goorkas changed mightily. It was not within the compass of their rude metaphysics to attribute our policy to any thing but fear; and they began accordingly to hold high words. "The small Fort of Bhurtpore," said the chief man in the state, "was the work of man, yet the English could not storm it; our hills and fastnesses are the work of God." "Alexander overthrew Empires," said one of the king's councillors, "but failed to conquer our mountains." "The foreigners know they cannot invade our territories," said another; "they must be repulsed." The heaven of the former dread showed itself even yet, however, in the bravest of their number—old Umur Sing Thapa—a soldier, who had recently annexed to their dominions the provinces to the west of the Gogra. He said, "We have hitherto but hunted deer; we must prepare now to fight with tigers!" Thus, although it has been the fashion to attribute the war to disputes on the frontier, it must be seen that those disputes were only its secondary causes; for they would never have become imminent had the Goorkas not discovered in us a constant tendency to yield. The predisposing cause, as medical men would call it, lurked elsewhere. It was a taint in our policy, which had become hereditary. Cornwallis had fathered it; Barlow and Minto had perpetuated it; and we were now about to reap some of its bitter fruits.

Along the base of the Himalayas, on the southern frontier of Nepal, extends a very dense forest of Saul trees, and a long swamp, called the Terai. The forest is valuable for its wood, which is in great demand in the valley of the Ganges; and the swamp, for its pasture during the dry months, at which season, all other pastures being scorched up, it is frequented by immense droves of cattle from the most distant parts of the Peninsula. This valuable tract, as it lay on a frontier, had, before the Goorka dominion, formed a subject of incessant disputes between the Rajas of the hills, and the Rajas of the plains; and the boundaries continued to be in a most unsettled state. When the Goorkas subdued the Rajas of the hills, they seized their estates, and also adopted their claims. But when the British became masters of the territory in the plains, they left the Rajas in possession of their estates, as the Moguls had done before them, and only exacted a tribute for protection. There was thus plenty of room left to the Goorkas for petty aggression, without directly insulting the British Government; and, considering the *chivalrous* sentiments which animated our rulers for some years before this war, our tributaries must have led a very harassing and precarious existence. A restless aggressive power, backed by a standing army, was constantly sapping their strength by encroaching on their

estates; while their suzerain, the British Government, gave them only half-hearted support, and punctually demanded the whole of their tribute.

At the settlement, in 1802, of the districts ceded by Oude, the Raja of Palpa in the hills engaged to pay us, as he had formerly done to the Nabob Vizier, a fixed rent for the lands of Bootwul in the plains. Some time after this engagement, the Raja was enticed to Katmandoo by the Nepaulese, imprisoned, and put to death. This barbarous act having called forth no proper remonstrance from us, the family of the murdered Raja, dreading the power of the Goorkas, gave up the lands of Bootwul to the Company's Government, in exchange for a pension, and took up their residence at our station of Gorukpore. Emboldened by their impunity, the Goorkas put forward claims to Bootwul, on the ground of having *subdued* the Palpa Raja, and forthwith sent agents to collect the rents. In this they were not interrupted by the Company's officers till the end of 1805, after they had succeeded in fully establishing their power over nearly all the lands in question. Sir G. Barlow then tardily remonstrated; but instead of threatening that he would force them to evacuate, by a resort to arms, he had recourse to a very undignified compromise. The lands of Sheoraj had been ceded to us by Oude; but they had been usurped by the Goorkas, previous to the cession, and had never been given up. Although there was no doubt whatever as to the right to these lands, they were now promised to the Goorkas, on the condition of the peaceable evacuation of Bootwul. The condition was rejected; but an offer made to farm that territory on the same terms as the late Raja had done, thus distinctly acknowledging our right. This offer in return was refused by us, and evacuation insisted upon; but Sir G. Barlow went soon after to govern Madras, and Lord Minto was afraid, apparently, for some time to enter into the matter. The Goorkas remained in possession of all the usurped lands, and the affair passed off, much to the augmentation of Nepaulese insolence, and the diminution of British prestige.

Five years afterwards, the Goorkas, having settled the usurped lands, encroached still further on our frontier, from the side both of Bootwul and of Sheoraj. Lord Minto remonstrated, and repeated Sir George Barlow's offer of Sheoraj, as a compromise for all they had usurped. This was again refused; and, with an arrogance increasing in proportion to our timidity, intimation was given, that the Goorka nation laid claim, not only to Bootwul and Sheoraj, but to all the lands they had more recently occupied! It will scarcely be credited, that this insolent message was met by Lord Minto by the appointment of a commission to settle the boundary. Mr. Prinsep rather naively remarks on this appointment: "Considering that the perpetu-

tory demand made by Sir G. Barlow in 1805, for the evacuation of Bootwul, had been answered by an offer to farm it, which was a distinct admission of our right, the nomination of a commission to investigate the matter now, *before enforcing the evacuation, was an act of most exemplary and undeserved moderation.*" Mr. Prinsep, as a partisan of the policy of that day, evidently does not see anything derogatory in the conduct of the Government; yet he cannot write upon it, without making it patent to every one else. The words, *before enforcing the evacuation*, would seem to mean, that, whatever decision the commission might come to, evacuation was to be enforced; and if so, would prove the appointment of the commission insincere and absurd. It is difficult too, to see how an act can be *exemplary* in Mr. Prinsep's sense of the word, and *undeserved* at the same time. Exemplary, in one sense, it certainly was. It was an exemplar of our policy throughout, the grand climacteric of our folly, the *experimentum crucis* of conciliatory negotiation with the Goorka!

In the mean time, on the Sarun frontier, a Goorka chief had been killed in a border foray by the followers of the Raja of Bettia, who was under our protection. The Goorkas advanced troops, and occupied twenty two villages which had been in our possession for upwards of thirty years. To these villages they had no manner of claim; yet the Governor General agreed, that the right to them should also be settled by the Commissioners of the two nations, now ordered to assemble.

Colonel Bradshaw, Assistant to the Resident at Lucknow, met the Goorka Commissioners on the part of the Governor General near Gorukpore, in the beginning of 1813, and first proceeded to settle the dispute regarding Bootwul and Sheoraj. Sophistical attempts were made by the Goorkas to prove their right to those lands; and the deliberations ended as a matter of course, unsatisfactorily;—each party declaring for itself. Colonel Bradshaw demanded evacuation. The Goorkas declared they could not comply without a reference to Katmandoo. It was very well known what their declaration meant. Our Commissioner was ordered, however, to proceed with them to adjust the disputes on the Sarun frontier; and set out in that direction at the end of the year. Lord Minto, who had approved of Col. Bradshaw's proceedings, addressed, in June, a letter to the King of Nepaul, asserting the right of the Company to Bootwul and Sheoraj, and demanding instant evacuation. Six months after, the King of Nepaul addressed a letter to the Governor General, asserting in turn the right of the Goorkas. Lord Hastings, who had assumed the Government in October, instantly issued a peremptory order for the withdrawal of the Nepaulese, and instructed the ma-

gistrate of Gorukpore to occupy the disputed lands with the British troops, in case the Nepaulese should not of themselves withdraw in twenty-five days. At the expiration of that period, the lands being still held by the Goorkas, the magistrate with a few companies of Infantry took possession of them without opposition. Police stations were established in several places, and the troops withdrawn to a healthier locality.

In the mean time Colonel Bradshaw had arrived at Sarun, to settle the disputes in that quarter, and decide the question of the twenty-two villages. These villages had been given up by the Goorkas, on the distinct understanding, that the right to them was to be investigated, among other matters, by the commission; but the experience of the Bootwul business seems to have taught our Government—a little too late to save their good faith in this matter—that it was futile to discuss where rights were clear; and Colonel Bradshaw was ordered to insist on the formal restitution of the villages *previous* to any investigation. It is needless to say in extenuation of this, that our right to the villages was clear. The question immediately presents itself, If our right were clear, why did we consent that it should be disputed? However clear it may have been, we had agreed to discuss it; and by refusing to do so, when the commission had assembled for the purpose, we were guilty of a breach of faith, and at the same time committed a great political mistake. Our refusal gave a seemingly honorable opportunity to the Goorkas to cease to negotiate. Their commissioners withdrew in indignation. They revoked the conditional surrender of the villages. They ordered Colonel Bradshaw to leave the frontier. In fact, although they had perhaps made up their minds to a war with us, they seized upon this as a good pretext for it. Our Government, on the other hand, stood in a ludicrous predicament. It had been guilty of great vacillation. It had first diminished its dignity by undue concession; and it had now diminished it by undue (though not in itself unjust) exaction. Its conciliation was out of place; and its firmness was out of place. Mr. Prinsep slurs over this episode in the negotiations. He mentions, that a refusal was made to investigate the right to the villages, but does not approach the question of its propriety or impropriety; and he attributes the departure of the Goorka commissioners to some “personal offence” taken against Colonel Bradshaw.

These events, which occurred in April 1814, were followed, in May, by an attack of the Goorkas on the police stations, which had been established in Bootwul by the Magistrate of Gorukpore. Three of these were attacked simultaneously. Eighteen Burkundazes were killed, and four wounded; and a Jemadar, who sur-

rendered, was murdered in cold blood, in presence of the leader of the Goorka party. As the season did not permit of our sending troops to the frontier, the police were withdrawn; and Bootwul and Sheoraj again fell into the possession of the Goorkas. One more attempt was made at conciliation. A letter was written, complaining of the attack on our police stations, and the murder of our men. To this a reply was received, not once alluding to the outrage in Bootwul, but dwelling at great length on the claims of the Goorkas to the lands in dispute, and complaining querulously against the agents of our Government. This put an end to negotiation. The sword was at length drawn; and on the 1st November 1814, war was declared against Nepaul.

After a careful review of all the circumstances which led to this rupture, it will be forced upon the mind, that, considering the great and imposing power of the Company's Government at the commencement of this century, and the sentiments of dread with which the Goorkas viewed it, a firm and unbending policy, suited to our paramount position and the true moderation of our political views, would have effectually checked and suppressed all those acts of aggression, which, increasing in boldness with our concessions, finally involved us in an expensive, illtimed, illmanaged and disastrous war. Regrets are vain; but when millions have been fruitlessly expended, and reputation needlessly damaged, it is difficult not to indulge. Had this war with the Goorkas been avoided by firmness, another war with them would have been improbable; for they had conquered the natural limits of their country; and with the British territories on one side, and the snowy range and the Chinese Empire on the other, their field for military enterprize would have been circumscribed, and their military character in consequence gradually extinguished.*

Now we were at war, it was necessary to look about for its sinews. The Indian treasury was exhausted. Large cash remittances had been made to Europe. Funds had been furnished to supply the deficient resources of our recent conquest—the island of Java. Demands, on account of the expiring Tea trade, had been complied with from Canton. The depreciation of British currency had raised to a fabulous amount the value of the rupee, and the public creditors—chiefly retired servants in England—had called for their dividends in

* The Nepaulesse have made, it is true, military expeditions into Thibet, but have always been repulsed by the great momentum of the Chinese Empire. While these pages are passing through the press it is reported that Jung Bahadoor is leading an Army through the passes of the Heemachul. The Chinese are said to be encamped at Pingri Maidan, with 30,000 men, to oppose him, and no doubt is entertained of their ability to destroy the Goorkas, or drive them in confusion back to their fastnesses, should they dare to debouch on the plains.

cash in India, to benefit by the higher rate of exchange. And as if all this were not enough, Government had insuperable objections, on the grounds both of honesty and of policy, to the contraction of a new debt. The following passage, which is extracted entire from Mr. Prinsep's work, we recommend to the virtuous indignation of the victims of the Public Works Loan, who have been in the habit of vapouring their grievances in the columns of the *Calcutta Englishman*.

"In this extremity (the want of funds) the natural resources would have been to open a new loan; but several circumstances precluded a resort to this step. In the first place, the securities of the existing loans, which had then very recently been negociated with much trouble, and at the expense of much obloquy and dissatisfaction, at six per cent interest per annum, in substitution for the old debts at eight per cent, bore in the market a discount of nine and ten per cent; indeed at one time, the discount was as low as sixteen. This showed the utter impossibility of raising money at the same rate of interest; while the manner of reduction rendered it as impossible, without forfeiting all pretensions to consistency and fair dealing towards the public creditors, to depart from the principle on which the preceding loans had been made, and open a new one at a higher rate. Moreover the distress for money was at this juncture so great and so general at Calcutta, that the first mercantile houses were giving twelve per cent, on the security of Government obligations. To open a public loan, therefore, even at a higher rate of interest than six per cent, would but add to the general distress, and produce from the alarm it would occasion, a very great further depreciation of all existing securities, without being in itself productive in a degree to compensate such evils."

The Government certainly did not deserve very much credit for sparing the public creditor, when it could gain nothing by not doing so; and it will be time enough to blame Lord Dalhousie, from precedent at least, when it is found that the public works loan is a failure. The public creditor would not, we venture to say, have been so considerably regarded by Lord Hastings and his Council, if the monetary credit of Government could have been otherwise preserved, a sufficient sum raised at a higher interest than six per cent, and no other resource had remained of obtaining money. But the Governor General of that day had in his viceregal eye the well filled money bags of Oude!

That miserable province had for some time been subjected to all the forms of fiscal oppression, which a rapacious system engenders, and which only the despotic countries of the East can experience in their fulness. The avaricious Sadut Ali had amassed a large trea-

sute from the blood and sweat of his subjects. The farmer of revenue had become the only official in Oude. The people were under his absolute sway. Tribunals of justice there were none. There was no authority for the suppression of crime, and the only authority which existed to control this lamentable state of affairs—the British Government*—was at this time unwilling to interfere. Lord Minto had urgently pressed Sadut Ali to reform his administration, but without success. Lord Hastings was too anxious to conciliate the Prince, and to handle his money, to bring forward the matter again. While affairs remained thus, Sadut Ali suddenly died; and, with the report of the event, the Governor General was informed, that his successor Ghazee-oodeen had consented to put an end to the miseries of his subjects, by effecting Lord Minto's reform. But alas for philanthropy! What were the miseries of the subjects of Oude to Lord Hastings? The accession of a new monarch in India—as he has nearly always a rival to the throne—has ever been a fortunate event for the coffers of the Company! and the Governor General thought Ghazee-oodeen would get off much too easily if his subjects were treated with consideration, when there was such pressing need for his rupees. So Major Baillie the Resident was reprimanded, and finally removed; a million sterling was paid as a six per cent loan into the Company's treasury; and the Ryots of Oude were remanded to indefinite plunder and distress. The Council, against the wishes of the Governor General, devoted one half of the sum, thus acquired, to an attempt to restore the credit of Government by paying off an eight per cent loan which still remained on the public books, and recourse in consequence was again had to Oude for a similar sum before the end of the Nepaulese war.

Lord Hastings† now determined to carry on the war with vigour. His plan was to act on the offensive along the whole line of the Nepaulese frontier, from the Sutlej to the Teesta. Four Divisions were ordered to be held in readiness to penetrate the enemy's country from four different points. The first or main Division, eight thousand strong, on the right, under General Marley, was to act directly against Katmandoo by the Choorea Ghattee Pass, and the

* In the treaty concluded by Sadut Ali with Lord Wellesly, it was expressly stipulated that in the exercise of his authority in Oude he should on all occasions be guided by the advice of the Officers of the Company.

† It is almost needless to tell the Indian reader that Lord Hastings combined in his own person the offices of Governor General and Commander-in-Chief. He was an old soldier, and had served with distinction as Lord Rawdon in the war of American independence. Although he was at this time known as the Earl of Moira, and was not created Marquis of Hastings till the end of 1816, for his services in the Nepaulese war, we have preferred using throughout the title by which he will be known to history.

route of Mukwanpore. To the westward, on its left, the second Division under General John Wood, five thousand strong, was to occupy the usurped lands of Bootwul and Sheoraj, and push, by Palpa, into the valley of Nepaul. The third, consisting of three thousand five hundred men and a large force of Irregulars, commanded by General Gillespie of Vellore celebrity, was to enter the Doon by the Tinley Pass, occupy that fertile valley, detach a force to the North to conquer Gurhwal, seize the Passes of the Ganges and the Jumna, and extend its operations to the left, so as to communicate with the fourth Division. This Division, consisting of six thousand Natives with a number of Irregulars under command of General Ochterlony, was destined to act against the western provinces of the Goorkas,—recent conquests—now held by their best troops. The inhabitants of these were hostile to their conquerors; and Ochterlony was instructed to engage their co-operation, if possible, by a promise of the restoration of their exiled Princes or of protection from the Company's Government. On the extreme right, a force of about three thousand men under Captain Barré Latter was employed to give encouragement, and, if necessary, assistance to the Raja of Sikim, then at war with Nepaul. All four Divisions of the Army were afterwards strengthened; and large bodies of Irregulars were raised in Rohilcund, which subsequently took an active and independent part in the reduction of Kemaoon.

The third Division was the first to 'break ground.' Its career was short and disastrous. It entered the Doon in the end of October, and took possession of Dehra, the chief city, without opposition. But the Goorka Leader, Bulbuddur Sing, although he had only six hundred men at his disposal, determined to make a stand, and threw himself into the dilapidated Fort of Kalunga near Dehra, which he strongly stockaded. Before this place, garrisoned by a few hundred Goorkas, the Division, first from want of caution, and next from want of something still more important—courage, signally failed in two assaults. In one it lost two hundred and sixty men and its General, the brave Gillespie; in the other, four hundred and seventy men, and its reputation. The Fort was then shelled, and in three days the Goorkas were compelled to evacuate, leaving upwards of five hundred of their number killed and wounded within the walls. Owing to the determined character of the enemy's resistance, the operations against Gurhwal were postponed; and General Martindell, who had succeeded to the command of the Division, now greatly reinforced, was directed to march westward to Nahn, where Runjore Sing Thapa was posted with two thousand Goorkas. On the approach of Martindell in the end of December, the enemy retired from Nahn to the position of Jyotuck. This position was attacked simultaneously by

two detachments, each a thousand strong, under Majors Ludlow and Richards ; but both were repulsed after severe losses, and the Division remained inactive during the rest of the campaign.

The second Division, under General John Wood, met with no better success on the Gorukpore frontier. Its leader, ignorant of the movements and positions of the enemy, trusted to the guidance of a plausible Brahman, who led him into an ambush at Jeetgurh, where, on the 3rd January, his Division was fatally repulsed. This blow paralysed him, and sickness fell upon his troops. His means became insufficient, and having no reserves, he was compelled to relinquish his part in the war, and to remain inactive a little in advance of Gorukpore, while the Goorkas, emboldened by our impotency and their own successes, made forays on our frontier, destroyed our villages, and burnt our crops. Here ended the second lesson of the war.

The main Division under Marley was the most numerous and efficient, and high hopes were placed on it by Lord Hastings. Its advanced parties, under Colonel Bradshaw the political agent, gained at first some slight advantages, which raised the confidence of our men, and in a corresponding degree disheartened the Goorkas ; but when the General arrived with the main body on the 12th December, these advantages were forfeited at once, by his tardiness and want of enterprize. Previous failures had then become known ; and fear of responsibility, that incubus of old age, was heavy on the Division. The Goorkas, with restored confidence, made a simultaneous attack on two of our outposts, each five hundred strong, commanded by Captains Sibley and Blakeney, and succeeded in destroying them almost to a man. This disaster, as it was owing to the faulty disposition of the posts, and the want of proper precautions for their support, drew down the displeasure of the Governor General. Lord Hastings, believing in the infallibility of his plans, was throughout this campaign unsparing in his censures of failure. However faulty his plans were, the failures which had occurred cannot in any way be attributed to them. They were owing to over confidence in the first place, over despondency in the next, and to bad tactics, and bad dispositions of available means, throughout : but for the inadequate results of the campaign no one can be blamed but Lord Hastings.

Disheartened by their repulses and by their General's inactivity, the troops showed symptoms of disaffection. A retreat, in consequence, was instantly ordered to Bettia ; and the Goorkas ravaged our provinces, insulting us under the very beards of our grand Army. They even threatened to attack a garrison of our troops, a thousand strong, at Baragurhee ; and their leader Bhugut Sing was actually punished for not having done so,

by being paraded in woman's attire in public durbar at Katmandoo ! General Marley, having reported that he was unable with the means at his command to execute his instructions, was recalled in displeasure ; but before the arrival of his successor, he took the unprecedented step of leaving his army without making any arrangements for the command in his absence. General George Wood, who was appointed to succeed him, joined on the 20th February, and although he found thirteen thousand regular troops at his disposal, he declared himself unable to advance, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign.

After having witnessed so much faint-heartedness and mismanagement, it is with pleasure we notice operations conducted with courage and skill. The fourth Division, which consisted entirely of Natives, was commanded by Ochterlony, a fine old soldier, who had learnt war under Coote, Pearce and Popham, and distinguished himself in the last war by his wonderful defence of the straggling ramparts of Delhi against the eager myriads of Holkar. He had been unjustly dismissed from the Delhi Residency by Sir George Barlow, who dreaded, while he could not help admiring, his firmness and energy. He had now returned to the profession he was destined so highly to honor, and was ready, though with many misgivings, for he did not like the service in which we were engaged, to lead his Division against the Western Provinces of Nepaul. He was opposed by old Umur Sing Thapa, the best of the Goorka Generals, at the head of the flower of their troops. After a series of operations, more remarkable for their precision and uniform success than for their brilliancy, he succeeded in shutting up the Goorka with the remnant of his army in Malown, and in finally forcing him on the 15th May to capitulate. Large bodies of the enemy's troops joined our ranks. Umur Sing was allowed to march out with the honours of war ; but it was stipulated that every armed man should be immediately withdrawn to the left bank of the Kallee. Thus, by the military skill and judgment of Ochterlony, were the Provinces of Kemaon and Gurhwal, and the tracts to the westward of the Jumna, conquered from the Goorkas, and the disastrous campaign of 1814-15 redeemed from the disgrace of utter failure.

Two bodies of Irregulars, which had been raised in Rohilund to meet the exigencies of the war, took the field in the middle of February, under command of Colonel Gardner and Captain Hearsay. The force of the latter was ignominiously routed and its leader taken prisoner ; but that of Gardner did excellent service, and when reinforced by some regulars under Colonel Nicolls, afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander in Chief in India, captured the Fort of Almora, and dispossessed the enemy of the greater part of Kemaon.

The events of this first campaign with the Goorkas had been by no means so auspicious as to encourage Lord Hastings to undertake another, if peace could be procured on reasonable terms. Negotiations were, in consequence, pressed forward with somewhat unseemly haste. After a good deal of evasion on the part of the Nepaulese, a treaty was at length concluded between Colonel Bradshaw and the Goorka agent, subject to the ratification of the two Governments. It was ratified, on receipt, at Fort William, where the prospects of peace caused unmingled satisfaction. Lord Hastings determined, as a display of generosity of his own free will, to relax the terms of the treaty, by restoring to the Goorkas the lands of Bootwul and Sheoraj, the immediate cause of the war. But fortunately for ourselves, this most childish and ostentatious piece of liberality was prevented by the Court of Nepaul, under the influence of the war party, refusing on their part to ratify the treaty, and resolving to trust to the chances of a second campaign.

Colonel Bradshaw, who was blamed for the failure of the negotiations, was removed from his political duties, which were entrusted to General Ochterlony, who was now called down from the North West to command the grand army in the campaign about to commence. A large force had been collected in every way fitted for its work, and the orders were to advance by Mukwanpore on the capital. The campaign was short. The enemy defended neither the Terai nor the Forest. Ochterlony, on the 17th February 1816, turned their positions in the first Passes, and compelled them to fall back on Mukwanpore. Here they made a stand, but were defeated with considerable loss, and within a few days were again defeated by Colonel Kelly at Hurryharpore. In this desperate posture of their affairs, our troops being within two marches of their capital, negotiations were instantly recommenced. The prosperous opening of the second campaign might have justified Ochterlony in exacting more rigorous terms than those included in the Treaty which had been previously drawn up; but as the sickly season was approaching, and our commissariat inefficient and ill-provided, the General thought it the most prudent course to adhere to them. He caused it however to be clearly understood, that no such relaxation in those terms, as the misplaced liberality of the Governor General had previously granted, would now be allowed; and, in order to vindicate the honor of our arms, he stipulated, that the Goorka Agent should present the ratified treaty on his knees in the presence of all the Vakeels in camp.

This treaty, which was originally done at Segowlee, on the 2nd December 1815, and now delivered to Ochterlony at Mukwanpore on the 4th March of the next year, provided.—that the lands in dis-

pute before the war, together with all the lowlands and Terai between the Kalee and the Gunduck, except Bootwul Khas, and the tracts between the Gunduck and the Koossee, hitherto occupied by the company, and the lands between the Michce and the Teesta, with the Fort of Nagree and the pass of Nagurkote, and all the lands to the west of the Kalee, embracing the provinces of Kemoon and Gurhwal, should be ceded to the Company's Government ; further, that a pension of two lacs should be paid by the Company to those chiefs of Nepaul, whose interests had suffered by the large cessions of territory in the Terai, that the Goorkas should never molest the Raja of Sikkim, and that they should receive a Resident at their Court.

A subsidiary Treaty was also concluded with the Raja of Sikkim, guaranteeing to him and his heirs the territory between the Michce and Teesta,* and thus effectually shutting out the Goorka power from that quarter.

It will be acknowledged that we escaped from this struggle with more advantage than credit. No fault can be found with the terms of a treaty by which an opponent has been humiliated, and which has been the means of preserving tranquillity for forty years. At the same time, the events of the war tended much to impair the high renown of British arms. Soldiers, accustomed to conquer against fourfold odds on a hundred battle fields, were here brought face to face with a foe, who could meet them on less than equal terms ; a foe too paid worse, clothed worse, fed worse, armed worse, defended by an inferior artillery, and with little else to depend upon than the stout heart and strong arm. Since Xerxes led his myriads against the small Republics of Greece, the world had now first witnessed a protracted *organised* resistance, made by a nation, not numbering two hundred thousand souls with a paltry revenue of five lacs, against an Empire ruling sixty millions, and raising annually fifteen crores. The result of the first campaign made undoubtedly a deep impression at the time. The hostile courts of India were stirred to their inmost depths. Their long smouldering feelings of hatred and revenge were ready to burst out into a blaze. Runjeet Sing threatened us by collecting his troops at Lahore. Ameer Khan kept his bands in readiness within three marches of Agra. The inborn insolence of the Mahratta broke out in the tone assumed at the Courts of Scindia and the Peshwa. With the fluttering hopes of our enemies may be mentioned the faint-hearted fears of our friends. Our military officers, from the flush of confidence, were reduced to the despondency of defeat. The measure of their former hopefulness was now the measure of their despair. Our Government, bold in the absence of danger,

* This territory has been recently annexed.

seemed now, when face to face with it, to become irresolute. Its thoughts were of peace, not retribution. The brave heart even of our only successful General quailed at the duties before him. Our ablest public men looked gloomily to the future. They thought they could now perceive the 'beginning of the end.' One of the wisest of their number, a near spectator of the events, could write thus :—" We have met with an enemy who shows decidedly greater bravery and greater steadiness than our troops possess ; and it is impossible to say what may be the end of such a reverse of the order of things. In some instances our troops, European and native, have been repulsed by inferior numbers with sticks and stones. In others our troops have been charged by the enemy sword in hand, and driven for miles like a flock of sheep. In a late instance of complete rout, we lost more muskets, by a great number, than there were killed, wounded and missing. In short I, who have always thought our power in India precarious, cannot help thinking that our downfall has already commenced. Our power rested solely on our military superiority ; with respect to one enemy that is gone. In this war, dreadful to say, we have had numbers on our side, and skill and bravery on the side of the enemy. We have had the inhabitants of the country in our favor, and yet overawed, notwithstanding our presence, by the character of our enemy."

Metcalf, the writer of the above, saw early the difficulties we should have to encounter in this war, from the known courage of our enemy, the probable rashness of our officers, and our inexperience in mountain warfare ; and he importuned Government to exercise the utmost caution, and trust more to bombshells and breastworks than to bare breasts and bayonets. But his advice came too late. The evil had been done. All the Divisions, except that of Ochterlony, the only general who took the simple precaution of entrenching his posts, had failed miserably. But although the common exercise of military precaution might have saved the Divisions of our army from disaster, it is indisputable that no exertions, on the part of their commanders, could have secured the objects intended by the Governor General in the first campaign. The plan of operations was radically wrong. Lord Hastings held the novel opinion that a mountainous country was more easily attacked than defended ; and on this erroneous basis were all his arrangements made.

The assailable frontier of Nepaul, which extended for six hundred miles, possessed, in the Terai and Forest, in mountains, rivers and difficult passes, natural defences of a most formidable kind ; and these bulwarks of nature were judiciously improved by the principles of military art. Strongly stockaded posts were established along the frontier, between which and the capital a regular communica-

tion was kept up. Reinforcements could be thrown into one of these posts, if menaced, in much shorter time than one of our attacking Divisions could be brought up to the assistance of another. Nepaul then was like a vast natural fortress, with one side unasailable, and the plan of attacking it by four independent Divisions was rash and unwarrantable. It was like assaulting simultaneously, without a covering army, a park, or reserves, four fronts of a fortress, with this further disadvantage, that the assailants were without the means of communication with each other. As a natural consequence of this division of forces and variety of objects, the troops on each point were quite inadequate to the duties assigned them. They could not take posts because they wanted artillery. They could not store provisions, or keep up communications with their base, because they could not afford men to garrison posts. They could not advance, because they could not store provisions, or keep up their communications. One great radical error infected the whole operations and paralysed every department of the army, and for that error no one was responsible but the Governor General.

Want of proper information regarding Nepaul has been put forward by the apologists of Lord Hastings, as an excuse for the failure of his plans. But as those plans were characterized by a rashness which would have been unjustifiable, even if more had been known of the country, it is difficult to see how such a plea, even if true, can be accepted. But it was not true. Information was not wanting, if Government had chosen to consult it. There was enough to be found in the records at its disposal, to warn us of the difficulties of the country, the courage of its inhabitants, and the system of warfare they pursued. Fifty years before, a British expedition had failed for want of means against Nepaul. British travellers had penetrated through the country to Thibet. Two British Officers had visited it as Residents ; and many more had been employed, for fifteen years, along the whole line of its frontier.

The second campaign taught us *how* to attack Nepaul. It told us, that if, instead of storming blindfold with inadequate forces four points of the enemy's strong line, we had maintained all along that line troops in just sufficient numbers to defend our own frontiers, and concentrated at one spot to advance on the capital by one pass an army, thoroughly equipped, strong enough to keep up effectually its communications with the plains, and furnished with a reserve to supply promptly the casualties of the campaign, the result would have been speedy and decisive. It told us, moreover, that for the adoption of this course we need not have employed one extra battalion, or expended one extra rupee. We had had under arms, frittered away in six different bodies, of which five were for

aggressive purposes, upwards of 30,000 regular and 13,000 irregular troops ; while the whole force of the Goorkas was considerably under 15,000 Regulars, of which a large number were at a great distance from the Capital, for the defence of recent conquests with hostile inhabitants. Humanly speaking nothing can be more certain, than that a just disposition of our great means would have quelled all resistance, and conquered peace in the first month of the first campaign.

We had, however, after a long series of blunders and disasters, at length obtained an honorable peace ; and our Government had now leisure to pursue that great game in Central India, which every day made it more necessary to our safety to commence. It will be readily admitted that, if the conduct of the Nepaulese War was not marked by much ability on the part of Lord Hastings, the subsequent great operations, by the skill with which they were carried out, and the success with which they were attended, amply redeemed his reputation, and stamped his administration as one of the most glorious in British Indian History

ART. III.—LIGHT CAVALRY IN INDIA.

- 1.—*Advance Posts of Light Cavalry*. By General F. DE BRACK, Paris 1844. Translated by Major P. J. Begbie, Madras Artillery.—Madras : Christian K. Society's Press, 1850.
- 2.—*Cavalry. Its History and Tactics*. By Capt. L. E. NOLAN, 15th Hussars.—London : J. Bosworth, 1853.
- 3.—*Training of Cavalry Remount Horses*. By Capt. L. E. NOLAN, 15th Hussars.—London : Furnivall and Parker, 1852.
- 4.—*Remarks on the Native Troops of the Indian Army*. By Major JOHN JACOB, Commandant of the Sindh Irregular Horse.—Bombay : 1854.
- 5.—*Cavalry Outpost Duties*. By Lieut.-Col. ARENTSCHILDT, 1st Hussars, King's German Legion.—London : Furnivall and Parker, 1854.
- 6.—*Hints on Irregular Cavalry*. By Capt. C. F. TROWER, B. M. II. II. Nizam's Cavalry.—Calcutta : Thacker & Co., 1845.

THE present is a time in which every branch of the Army is attracting public attention. Its efficiency is a matter which affects the honor and interest of every patriotic Englishman. Practical suggestions therefore, biassed only by a love for the service and anxiety for its welfare, springing from any quarter, may reach the eye of those in whose power improvement lies ; and, should the possible contingency, hinted at by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, be realized, of our Indian Army joining in the bloody struggle for right in the Crimea, may prove a public benefit.

We have seen the stock of the Infantry Soldier—that “point d'appui” of discipline in the opinion of many veterans, and instrument of torture to the wearer—ruthlessly sacrificed at Varna to the common sense of the English public. A few clever leaders in “*The Times*,” penned by one not in awe of the Horse Guards, daring to have an opinion of his own, and drawing his conclusions from his own sensations, effected in a few weeks the downfall of this remnant of barbarism. This would not in all probability have been done by the Army itself within the present century. However, one daring Hussar, now alas no more, had the audacity to doubt the perfection in dress and accoutrements of his crack corps and of others English and foreign. He decides the question of the steel scabbard, the overalls with straps, the unwieldy lance, and the present pattern of Hussar

saddle. He is right ; such things are absurdities, even when climate, strength of man and horse, associations and prestige—all tend to alleviate their evils. How then can the appointments of Indian Light Dragoon Regiments, which have steadily copied the European in every absurdity as well as in every excellence, be presumed to be faultless ? We doubt whether, after our intelligence, our experience, and our modern science have been all brought to bear on the trooper, his horse, his arms and the discipline he undergoes, our Cavalry have not rather retrograded than advanced in efficiency since the days of Cromwell and his Ironsides, and we are certain that our *system* does not make troopers like those of Ziethen and Seidlitz.

Yet we have men as good as the daring horsemen of these warriors, whilst in horses and arms we are far superior. Into the reasons and causes of this paradox it is our present purpose to inquire, with the assistance of the valuable works above mentioned. Many writers in our Indian newspapers, good men and true, have of late years written volumes on this subject ; but it is to be regretted, that, in their zeal for the particular service they uphold, they have been unwilling or unable to suggest practical remedies for the shortcomings and abuses they so valiantly attack. We shall therefore propose a remedy for every abuse, acting on the suggestion of a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*, for January 1854, who pronounces it to be a mode of practice as excellent as it is rare. At the same time we admit that most of our suggestions have at least been thought of already by practical men.

We will consider Light Cavalry under three heads :

1. Arms and Equipments.
2. Horses.
3. Discipline.

On the choice and use of the two first, and the skill and *temper* with which the latter is carried out, depend the trooper's confidence in himself, his security, and his power of inflicting injury on his enemy. The first axiom which General De Brack lays down regarding arms is :

"In peace you will have learnt how to *manage* your weapons ; in war you will learn how to *use* them."

And then arises the question, What weapons ? what arms must we learn to *manage* in peace that we may *use* them in war ? Those in vogue amongst Cavalry corps are the sword, carbine, lance and pistol ; but before we proceed to consider their merits and demerits at greater length, we will hear the various opinions of the gallant "sabreurs" whose works are now before us. General De Brack says :—

"The sabre is the arm in which you ought to place the most confidence, because it is rarely that it fails by snapping in your hands. Its cuts are

surer in proportion as you direct them with coolness, and as you hold your arm properly. It is the thrusts that kill ; cuts only wound. Give the point then, give the point as often as you can, and you will dismount every man you reach ; you will demoralise the enemy, who may escape your thrust, and you will add to these advantages, that of never exposing yourself and being always at your guard. In the first Spanish war, our dragoons acquired such a reputation for their skill in thrusting, as to demoralise the Spanish and English troops."

To which latter assertion the translator naively adds in a note, that " it will be as great a novelty to our readers as it is to ourselves."

The whole tenor of Capt. Nolan's chapter of " The Arming of Cavalry " indicates a strong preference for the sabre over all other weapons. But he raises that *vetula questio*, of the respective advantages of the straight sword and the curved sabre, and is apparently as much in favor of the latter as General De Brack is of the former. Captain Nolan says :—

" The Sikh war showed clearly, had any proof been wanting, how useless the Indian Cavalry was when organised on the English model ; whilst at the same time, brilliant proofs were given of the superiority of the Irregulars armed with sharp swords, and having a proper command over their horses."

And then quoting from a letter in the *Delli Gazette* continues :

" A Cavalry soldier should find himself strong and firm in his seat, easy in his dress so as to have perfect freedom of action, and with a weapon in his hand capable of cutting down an adversary at a blow."

Our next authority is also highly in favor of sabres for Cavalry, and as the redoubtable commandant of the Sind Horse has not only had in person such practice with the enemy as falls to the lot of few, but has taught his gallant troopers to use their blades with such cutting effect, his practical experience is entitled to respect, if it does not weigh very heavy in the scale. " Major John Jacob, however, and General DeBrack are at direct issue, as to the respective advantages to be gained by a horseman over his antagonist, by the cut or by the point. The former tells us at page 35 of his " Remarks :"

" It is no mistake at all to arm them with good *cutting* swords of one uniform pattern. The English swords, (not the government regulation iron, but a weapon made in England of good steel and of a proper shape) is infinitely better than any Eastern blade, and all the native soldiers prefer it. Even these Beloochees here are begging to be allowed to buy these swords at any price. The things cut of themselves, however unskilfully handled."

" There are great mistakes made regarding the respective powers of the edges and points of swords. On foot, or when moving with moderate rapidity, it is unnecessary to argue in favor of the point of the fencer ; its superiority is evident to all. But on horseback, the speed of the horse prevents the swordsman from drawing his arm back with sufficient rapidity after a home thrust, so that if going at full speed (as every Cavalry man ought when attacking) his sword, after passing through his enemy, is very liable to be knocked out of his hand, the weapon running up to the hilt, and then of course violently stopping. This has occurred to myself, when I should have been quite disarmed, had

not the sword been buckled to my wrist with a very strong leather strap. The same thing has also often occurred to others ; wherefore for Cavalry soldiers curved *cutting* blades are the best. Straight swords will only cut in skilful hands, curved blades cut fearfully, of themselves almost, without any skill on the part of the soldier."

Such facts strike the reader as hard as Major Jacob's sabre-cuts did the enemy ; and any old "pigsticker," accustomed to use the long spear, which allows of being shortened or lengthened in the grip, and can be turned with greater facility in the hand, for the purpose of extrication, than a sword hilt, will agree with us as to the difficulty that often occurs in releasing the head from its bloody sheath in front of, or behind the shoulder of a fighting boar who has charged home, and is, whilst you are striving every nerve to save your spear for another attack, doing his utmost to rip and ruin for life your gallant little Arab. Many will recollect, that when their weapon has been suddenly stopped, (as Major Jacob describes) by striking against, or piercing a bone, they have found themselves with but half a bamboo in their hands, the other half being left buried in the flanks of their game.

We will not attempt to sever the gordian knot into which the sabre-cut and sword-point have become entangled ; we would insist upon neither, and allow every man to follow the dictates of his own fancy or the result of his own experience, *as most assuredly every one will do*, when he meets his antagonist in the battle crash. At that time, teaching, argument and practice will weigh as nothing compared with the impulse of the moment, and we would have every trooper exercise sword practice, not practise "sword exercise," on horseback, allowing him to form his own conclusions as to the manner in which he could most injure his enemy with the least harm to himself. If he be enamoured of the straight sword and the point, provide him with the former that he may give the latter ; but if he opine that his prowess would be increased by using the curved sabre and the drawing cut, let him indulge his predilection for them. All are not equal adepts in one particular mode of attack ; and he, who can deliver a point with the greatest dexterity and certainty of injuring his adversary, may signally fail in that pliancy of arm and neatness of stroke so requisite to make a sabre cut effectual. We would, therefore, have two pattern swords for Cavalry ; one straight, the other curved ; and allow every man to use his discretion in the choice of either, with liberty to change it after practice and experience. We can imagine that an outcry would be raised by the button and collar men of the army, at having swords of two patterns in a corps. The smart Major, who considers he performs "the sword exercise" as well as the drill. Serjeant, or the puffy Colonel, who writes to the Adjutant General so much about the uniformity of the men, might be indignant ; but

surely the Irregular Cavalry, who use swords of all shapes and sizes, have done gallant service. A short time since we saw in our friend Wilkinson's upstairs room in Pall Mall muskets of different lengths, bends, and weights, some straight, some curved, some long and some short, to suit the different capabilities of our Infantry soldiers, whom we have just discovered are not all made alike ; and these weapons had an hour previously received the approval of Lord Hardinge and his sanction for introduction into the Army. Every griff in the country can tell you how well his "Purdav" comes up to his shoulder, and how he considers his fellow griff's "Westley Richards" much too straight in the stock. If then diverse arms of one sort be required for different capacities, why should not be also diverse arms of another sort ? If muskets and rifles, why not swords ?

The European horseman will probably often attack with the point, as he understands and appreciates its deadly use ; but the Native Suwar, Regular or Irregular, will almost invariably use the drawing cut, whose damaging issues he has heard of from early childhood, as practised by his progenitors at Paniput and at Plassey, at Assaye and Mahidpore, in Afghanistan and the Punjab. None of our officers, who were cut down during our late campaigns were, as far as we can recollect, wounded with the sword-point ; whilst we could name many who were almost cleft in two by the sharp, drawing, sabre-cut. Take Chillianwalla alone ; frightful were the wounds received in the backs of their heads by poor Edward Christie H. A., Christie of the 5th L. C., and Godby, now of the Guides—wounds which exposed their very brains.

But it is time to sheath our swords, and we ought not to waste much time in discussing the merits of their scabbards. We believe every sensible man in India, European or Native, is as much in favor of the wooden, as he is against the steel scabbard, and would hail the introduction of the former, with the abolition of the latter, as a more decided improvement than any made during the present century ; indeed, we should dismiss a subject, upon which so many are agreed, at once, were it not for the fact that the change is *not yet made*. As it is, we will reproduce the principal arguments on the question, supporting them by the opinions of our text books. No amount of normal training will give confidence in a weapon, when a soldier *knows that it will not cut*, and that no care or sharpening will preserve its keenness so long as he must keep it in a steel scabbard, which wears the edge away each time the sword is drawn and sheathed for purposes of parade. It *looks* smart and soldier-like to see a corps of horse on parade, drawing swords as one man ; but the ringing noise which accompanies the performance tells a tale to the keen observer ; that rattle dis-

covers to him the process according to which swords, with edges already damaged, are spoiled and rendered harmless by the friction of the inside of the scabbard ; and this is owing to the looseness of the sheathing boards, which in this country cannot possibly be kept firm and free from a tendency to shrink. Little calculated as his weapon is to injure an enemy, the trooper in action naturally consigns it to its resting place, and unslings his carbine which he knows to be effective when it strikes.

We hold the steel scabbard to be the greatest of the evils against which the Regular Cavalry in India has to contend, and, that we may see the evil in its true light, let us consider the movement for which Cavalry is chiefly designed, to wit, the charge. Suppose then that the word is given ; our trumpets sound ; we advance at a sharp trot, our blunt swords drawn from their clattering sheaths, and the beating of our hearts not a little quickened by doubts as to the use we may be able to make of such tools. We move steadily across the intervening space. Half way we come under the cross fire of the enemy's Artillery, and our reserves, as they eagerly watch us, occasionally see that our squadrons have received slight checks. As the cloud of dust is cleared away by the west wind, men and horses are seen lying here and there on the ground, and other steeds are riderless. But our hearts are in the right places ; our men follow well closed up, and we burn to fulfil the cherished visions of our youth, to gain for our arm of the service that name which we have long felt it deserved, and to emulate the spirit which urged the glorious six hundred forward at Balaklava. Our horses become impatient, and are made unsteady by the ceaseless roar of the batteries and the deafening volleys of the squares ; so breaking into the gallop rather before the time, we press the spurs into their flanks, and bearing down at lightning speed upon the bristling ranks with a shout and a dash, over which only the agonizing cry of the dying and the wounded are heard, we break down all before us and penetrate the vaunted square. But the enemy is resolute. They stand, and the force of our shock being spent the charge is converted into a *mêlée* and a series of hand to hand encounters. The slaughter and destruction of the enemy's force are effected, not by the successful charge, but by the individual skill and bravery subsequent to it ; and what chance has the English Dragoon or his Indian counterpart, should he once fail to disable with the point an antagonist, whose first successful blow will severely wound him or his horse, and perchance take off a limb ? Or of what effect is the stroke of a weapon whose edge is as blunt as its back ? How fruitless becomes the steady bravery displayed in the splendid charge ! How helpless are those gallant

fellows, now pressed upon and surrounded by an enemy who *see* and *feel* that they are as good as weaponless, and how sad is it that so many should be left dead and dying, who would have cloven a path through the gathering crowd, but for that piece of folly and inanity, the steel scabbard !

“ Few, few shall part where many meet,
The snow shall be their winding sheet ;
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre.”

And this is not all ; our military readers are well aware that the clank and clatter of the steel scabbard, when Cavalry are on the move, will effectually prevent all chance of a night surprise, even when an enemy's pickets are least vigilant ; whilst they point out the position of the advancing body so truly, that the hostile marksmen empty saddles with fatal precision.

What says Capt. Nolan on wooden scabbards ?

“ Thinking the wooden scabbards might be objected to as not suitable for campaigning, I got a return from one of these regiments, and found the average of broken scabbards below that of the regulars who have steel ones. The steel is snapped by a kick or a fall, the wood, being elastic, bends. They are not in the man's way ; when dismounted they do not get between his legs and trip him up ; they make no noise, a soldier or sentry of a dark night might move about without betraying his position to an enemy by the clanking of the rings against the scabbard. All that rattling noise in column, which announces its approach when miles off and makes it so difficult to hear a word of command in the ranks, is thus got rid of, as well as the necessity of wrapping straw or hay round the scabbards, as now customary when engaged in any service, in which an attempt is to be made to surprise an enemy.”

Major Jacob's experiences on this point are similar, for he too is well aware how a steel bar rapping against a steel edge must ruin the latter ; so he recommends a modification of the steel scabbard, or rather a wooden inside a steel one. He says ;—

“ A steel scabbard is best, if it have a complete wooden scabbard inside it, a construction however which I never have been able as yet to persuade an English maker to adopt or understand. They always put a lot of screws and iron springs about the mouth of the scabbard, which totally defeat the object of the wooden lining.

“ The scabbards of the S. I. Horse are of wood and leather, made as strong as may be, but still they wear out too speedily to please me, and break very often. My own swords have metal scabbards, made large purposely and lined with a complete wooden scabbard in this country, the belt mouth being formed of wood. These are the best scabbards of all.”

“ Such a pattern is doubtless good and prevents the great evil of blunt swords ; but with the greatest deference to an authority of whom we entertain such a high opinion, we still object to his scabbards ; firstly, on account of the clank and rattle they must make when the wearer moves ; and secondly, on account of the mode in which they

must be slung, and which we shall notice under the proper head. Moreover, they must necessarily be weighty and clumsy, and as there appears such great difficulty in having them properly made even in England, we may reasonably conclude we should fail in India. The breakage of scabbards is an accident which we cannot obviate, without falling into the error of making them unwieldy; but many years of service with regular and irregular Cavalry, during which we have used both steel and wooden scabbards, have led us to form the same opinion as Captain Nolan—that the former break oftener than the latter. To prevent damage as much as possible, the wooden scabbard should be slung in the native “ekah” or frog belt, the superiority of which over a belt with slings we shall show under the head of “Accoutrements.” Captain Trower remarks in his “Hints,” with reference to proposed changes in the Regular Cavalry, that “native sabres should be substituted for those now in use.” And all our authors who touch on the subject are opposed to the drawing of swords, except for actual use; they should generally remain sheathed on parade.

In this instance it is easy, not only to expose the defect, but also to provide the remedy; and to those who are not convinced of the folly of arming natives of India with straight swords having steel scabbards, we think the following copy of an official document will prove irresistible. When we consider that it was issued on the eve of a great battle with an army of expert swordsmen, at a time when the destinies of India hung in the balance, and the Governor General was waiting anxiously at Mukkoo that he might be near at hand in case of calamity, when the English nation were pouring out the vials of their wrath upon the grey and defenceless head of one whom they would have treated as a second Themistocles or Cimon, we hold that it alone is sufficient to decide the question.

“G. O. to the Army of the Punjab. Head Quarters *Camp Truckhur*, 19th February 1849. The Commander-in-Chief directs that Officers commanding Corps of Light Cavalry will permit the men of their Regiments who are so inclined, to arm themselves with their own Tulwars (which they are understood in general to possess) in lieu of the Government sabres they at present carry.”

A word more on swords and we have done. The half basket hilt, having the two fluted bars according to the present dress regulation, is insufficient to guard the hand from a sword point, or grape or musket shot. The claymore hilt should be substituted. Several officers, we could name would have escaped from severe wounds, and their masters from the payment of their wound pensions, had they been thus provided in the late campaigns. Again, the fishskin gripe, as at present attached to sword hilts, with the rough part to

catch against the hand when the point is given, is wrong. It should be inverted, so as to catch against the hand on delivering the cut, because the top of the hilt is ample to stop the hand from slipping up in giving the point, and if any one will try a swinging cut he will find the sword slip up to the end of the hilt, thus giving an uncertainty of grasp and causing the blade to turn on concussion.

"With regard to fire arms for Cavalry;" says Capt. Nolan, "as accuracy of fire is what is required, not rapidity, I should give them short handy rifles; these should be carried in a holster about fourteen inches long, bell mouthed like a tube and open at the bottom. This holster should be fastened below the off wallet, pointing to the horse's shoulder. The carbine is pushed through, and a strap about one yard long fastens it to the pommel of the saddle, and prevents the man from losing the weapon if he should let go his hold when firing or loading.

"The cumbrous bandolier-belt with its appurtenances is got rid of, and the man can bring his carbine easily to his shoulder and get at his pouch-belt for ammunition; whereas it is almost an impossibility to do either whilst the carbine is attached to the big awkward belt. No carbine stay-strap is required and no bucket; the carbine can be drawn and returned with the same ease as a pistol. It rides much in the same position as at present, with the bucket and stay-strap; only it rides steadily and does not get into the way of the man's sword arm, which happens often at present, when jerked forward by the stay-strap. The strap I propose unbuckles from the saddle, and serves as a sling when the man is dismounted."

We concur heartily in these proposals for slinging carbines, experience having satisfied us that Captain Nolan's objections are weighty, and that carbines slung as at present are troublesome to use as well as uncertain in their aim. We have watched men trying in vain to free the swivel chain of their carbine from the hitch it has taken on the broad bandolier belt. Were this to occur in action, they must either throw away their shots from inability to take proper aim, or afford the enemy time for three shots to their one. We have only to examine the returns of carbine practice from most corps thus accoutred, and judge for ourselves whether there be not some radical error, when such unsatisfactory results appear.

But we have slung and fired our carbine before determining the sort we require. Those at present in use with Her Majesty's Dragoon Regiments are too long, and insufficiently bent in the stock; they are also so heavy that no man, whose arms are not unusually strong, is able to take a steady shot to the right. Those of the Sind Horse are the best we have seen in India; those also used in the Nizam's Cavalry and many corps of Irregular Horse in the Bengal Presidency are good. But one and all have the great fault of being made according to one pattern. They should be constructed on Mr. Wilkinson's (of Pall Mall) plan of having three different patterns, some longer

some shorter in the stock, some much bent, others moderately ; and then they should be distributed as best suited to the respective individuals. We would introduce miniè carbines, though Capt. Nolan's remarks on long-range carbines, at page 123, are opposed to such a measure. His objections about "men firing at every thing they fancy they see in the distance" could be met by good teaching. When "*Cavalry its History and its Tactics*" appeared, Inkerman had not been fought, and the immense superiority of the miniè proved ; and as its great advantages make Infantry so much more formidable, we hold that they will also tell proportionably with Cavalry, when applied to the special uses of fire arms for that service. The miniè carbine would render Cavalry independent in an enemy's country, far more formidable as skirmishers, videttes, and patrols, and for dismounted service superior as regards range and closeness of fire to Infantry with the old musket, the range of the miniè carbines being 800 yards and of the musket 200 yards. In defiles, or in streets with the windows occupied, such pieces would be most valuable ; on parade or on guard they should supply the place of the drawn sword. All carbines issued by Government, and most of those furnished by private contract, have a defect which some gun makers profess themselves unable to remedy, viz. straightness of stock ; and the cause assigned is, the straightness of the grain of the wood ; but it is difficult to understand why a carbine should labour under a disadvantage which can be obviated in a fowling piece or rifle. The fault of being too straight is, that to take an accurate aim the carbiner has to depress his cheek so low upon the stock in order to catch the line of sight, that he is sure to receive a blow from the recoil. A man may avoid this by not depressing his cheek sufficiently, in which case his line of sight falls on the barrel, not at the breech, but half way down ; the muzzle is then over elevated to correspond with the false line of sight, and the shot is ineffective.

Stocks may be too short or too long ; if too short, the error just mentioned is committed ; if too long, the man's cheek does not rest upon the stock when his eye catches the line of sight, and either his aim is unsteady, or if steady, his eye being low down, he merely sees the breech, and the point of the muzzle is left to follow its own direction.

Our carbines should be made to load at the breech and have capprimers attached to them. The butt should open by means of a spring metal plate, under which should be receptacles for four cartridges to be used when the pouch is empty. The point-blank range without a sight should be 100 yards ; the miniè sight for 200, 500, and 800, moving on a stiff hinge, should be let in or sunk into the upper part of the barrel which should be made sufficiently thick

along a portion of the upper side to allow of this insertion ; but this sight is only to be used when the soldier is on foot. Any one can imagine the difficulty of loading a carbine with the ramrod, when the horse is on the move or excited and unsteady, whilst that of placing a cap on the nipple is greater ; and the time occupied in accomplishing both is considerable. In a late English paper we find this paragraph :—

“ A trial of a newly invented self breech loading and priming carbine has been made at the school of musketry at Hythe. Sixty shots can be fired from this weapon in seven minutes ; out of that number, at a range of 100 yards, 47 struck the bull's eye. Total immersion in water of the carbine, loaded, did not affect its explosive power, the fusie being readily discharged. The rapidity of the firing did not produce the slightest derangement, the piece neither requiring oiling or cleaning.”

Let us contrast this practice with that of a Light Cavalry Regiment, the practice returns of which are before us, the extreme range of their carbines being 150 yards. The greatest number of shots that a smart man could fire in seven minutes was found on experiment to be twelve or thirteen ; out of those at a hundred yards distance none struck the bull's eye and only three the target.*

Now with our breech-loading, self-munition-carrying, self-priming, miniè carbine, well bent in the stock, and with each man having the pattern best fitted to his shoulders, there is no saying to what pitch of excellence Cavalry may not arrive in this practice. The breech-loading principle enables us to dispense with a heavy iron ramrod, and insures a rapidity of firing, nearly, if not quite equal to that of a good rifleman ; with it and the cap-primer an infinity of time and trouble is saved in loading, whilst the miniè ball increases our range as well as our accuracy.

We are glad to see, even whilst penning this, by the last Parliamentary Reports that “ Mr. F. Rees said that the several kinds of breech-loading weapons to improve the armament of the Cavalry were under the consideration of the Ordnance Department.”

We would abolish pistols for Cavalry in general, allowing one only to those who are without carbines, i. e. standard bearers and officers ; for to the trooper a pistol is all but useless. He ought not to use it in the charge ; it is of small service to him as a patrol, and of no avail to him as a vidette, for it leaves him an easy prey to any carbiner who comes safely within two hundred yards of him. In passing dfiles, jungle or wooded countries, the range of the pistol is too short to be effective, indeed it is only so at close quarters, when the carbine will do equal execution. It is the constant cause of accidents,

* The Infantry percussion Musket will carry 200 yards, and from 12 to 14 can be fired from it in seven minutes by a smart man.

owing, we believe, to the extreme shortness of the barrel, which allows of the muzzle being easily and frequently turned towards different parts of the person. Many of our readers will recollect how frequent is the recurrence of pistol accidents. Major Daly of H. M.'s 4th Light Dragoons, during the Afghan War, was shot through the toe by his pistol going off whilst in his holster, and we have several times heard of similar mishaps though unable to name the sufferers. A day or two before the battle of Goojrat three persons in the Mooltan Division of the Army, whilst preparing their pistols for the fight, wounded themselves instead of the enemy; and two days after that action that brave and Christian gentleman, the much lamented Colonel Mountain, on reaching the river Helum and expecting hourly to close with the retreating mass of the beaten Sikh Army, shot himself through the hand whilst loading his pistol. It is the fashion of the day that no one should be without a "Colt," and that every specimen of a revolver should be lauded; but we much doubt whether their efficacy and use in time of need have not been exaggerated, and instances of their failure have lately been published in the papers. Both Colts, and Deane and Adams' revolvers very easily get out of order; and when broken in the field are not easily repaired. Several officers found their revolvers but of little use during the last Burmese war; indeed poor Captain Loch, R. N. in leading the party which by falling into ambuscade lost him his life, pulled the trigger of his revolver (a Deane and Adams) five times, and the weapon on every occasion either missed fire through the caps having fallen off or the bullets had been shaken out when he was running.

One pistol shot is generally effective and sufficient, and the positions are few in which a Cavalry Officer has to fire a second, but as it may be occasionally required and as the moral effect of having a shot in reserve is felt both by the attacking and the attacked party, we recommend those, who are necessitated, to use the portable fire arm which is inferior only to a carbine—a pistol with two barrels one over the other, with a saw handle and a side spring attached for the purpose of affixing it to the belt. It should have a carbine bore, and weigh about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs; the barrel should be $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and the stock measured across the bend from breech to butt should be just as long as the barrel. Such a weapon is as effective as any pistol can be, is light enough to ride in the sword-belt without being troublesome, and heavy enough not to throw the ball high as it is always thrown by fire arms that are too light. From one of the barrels being over the other the pistol when worn on the sword belt sits flat to the side, and this flatness tends to keep it steady when its owner is mounted and at a gallop.

The last arm we have to treat of is the lance, regarding the merits of which opinions were till late years pretty evenly balanced; but for some time we have observed that it is not growing in public estimation. Some of our very best Indian officers, skilled in the use of arms of every description, placed the lance high—if not the highest—in their catalogue. The famous Colonel Skinner was very much in favor of it. The late Colonel James Sutherland was a great adept in its use, and considered it equal to the sword. Colonel Davies, who formerly commanded His Highness the Nizam's Cavalry, had the highest opinion of its utility, as also had one of his successors, the late Lieut. Colonel James Blair.

General De Brack considers "the lance is the naked weapon (*arme blanche* in contradistinction to *arme à feu*) whose moral effect is the most powerful and whose thrusts are most deadly."

Lances made of English ash and pattern and heavily shod are too heavy and blunt, and the blade is of too awkward a shape for them to be successfully used by the Native trooper; indeed it is proverbial that they are thrown away, or slung in the *mêlée*, even by the athletic English Lancer, and General De Brack estimating the weapon as highly as he does yet finds defects in it of the most serious nature.

"The French lance requires to be improved; the ash of which the shaft is made is too heavy, which hampers the celerity of wielding it, and galls the horse on the withers when the weapon rests in the boot. The wood does not redeem this defect by its toughness, for being shaped taperwise, and the fibres becoming thereby interrupted, the lance easily breaks in such a manner as to be incapable of repair."

We were ourselves once on a time zealous advocates for the spear, and having known good work done with it by our best spearsmen in many a foray and "dour," as well as having seen it give a good account of bear and boar, of nilgai and wild buffalo, we considered in the days of our hot youth that it was the king of weapons; but our partiality prevented us from regarding the other side of the question, and considering how far the lance was efficient in the hands of those who were not adepts in its use. It was not until we became aware how small damage was done with it in the last campaigns that we wavered in our opinion of its merits; and not until we perused "*Cavalry and its Tactics*" did we decide, that "the lance is not a dangerous weapon in *all* hands, and therefore unfit for soldiers." Captain Nolan's remarks are so very much to the purpose, that we feel we cannot enter in collating them almost entire with the other quoted opinions.

"Formerly it was a received opinion that the lance was particularly formidable in single encounters, that the lancer should be a light active horseman,

and that space was required whereon he might manage his horse and turn him *towards* the object at which he was to thrust. But of late years there seems to be rather a disposition to take up Marshal Marmont's notion of arming heavy cavalry with lances to break infantry as well as cavalry. All seem to forget that the lance is useless in a *mêlée*, that the moment the lancer pulls up and the impulsive power is stopped, that instant the power of a weapon is gone. The sixteenth lancers broke into the Sikh squares at Aliwal, and in the *mêlée* that ensued, these brave men attacked the lancers sword in hand and brought many of them low, for they could effect nothing with the lances. In the second Sikh war, I have been told that our lancers often failed in driving their lances into a Sikh because they had shawls rapped round them. I could tell them a better reason; it was because those who failed did not know that it requires speed to drive a lance home, and that it must be carried into the object by the horse.

"I have often seen, when hog hunting, men with spears as sharp as razors unable to drive the weapon through the boar's hide, whereas others (old hands) would send a spear in at one side and out at the other through bone and all.

"This shows that the lance is not a dangerous weapon in all hands, and therefore unfit for soldiers.

"At speed you can drive a lance through any thing, but not so at a slower pace; and at a walk, and a stand, you become helpless, and the thrust can be put aside with ease or the pole seized with the hand.

"Gustavus Adolphus took the lances away from his Cavalry in the Thirty Years War. He had practically experienced their inefficiency.

"The lancers' pennons attract the fire of Artillery; in single combat they betray to the adversary where the danger is, and thus enable him to avoid it; and if they sometimes frighten an adversary's horse, the animal shies and carries his master out of reach of the point, which if not decorated might have run him through the body. I believe that the only advantage of the lance lies in the moral effect produced (particularly in young soldiers,) not only by its longer reach, but by the deadly effect of the home thrusts.

"If lances be such good weapons, surely those who wield them ought to acquire great confidence in them, whereas it is well known that in battle lancers generally throw them away and take to their swords. I never spoke with an English lancer who had been engaged in the late Sikh wars that did not declare the lance to be a useless tool, and a great incumbrance in close conflict.

"The failure of the 7th Hussars in the retreat from Quatre-bras against the French lancers jammed close together in the streets of Gemappe, was attributed to the lances of their opponents.

"Of what use were the lances to the French a few minutes later when a regiment of Life Guards (without cuirasses) went at them sword in hand and drove them through the town, and out at the other side—riding them down and cutting them from their horses in all directions?

"Lancers are of no use for outpost duty; the enemy shoot them down, and they have no fire arms wherewith to keep the enemy off."

To those who still retain such preference for the lance as to equip their corps with it, we venture to make some recommendations. Substitute a well balanced good male bamboo for the ashen staff, of such a length that on the spear blade being fitted on and the lancer's arm being stretched up as high as he can reach, the tips of his fingers shall just touch the heel of the steel socket. Fit the spear-heads on *without* rivets, for they invariably cause a shaft to break at the place

where it needs be strongest. Abolish pennons—they look very pretty, at a review, but are useless and dangerous in warfare. Take care that the blade of the spear-head is wider than the middle of the spear-shaft, or the latter will stick fast in the wound it makes. Taper the heel of the blade as much as the point, in fact the two should be alike in shape, measuring from the centre or broadest part of the blade (lengthwise.) Do away with all rings and fancy ornaments below the heels of the blade; they only cause the spear to get jammed in the hole the blade makes, and the “cleaner run” the whole weapon has the better

It cannot be denied that the dress and equipment of Light Cavalry in India require modifications and attentions which would materially tend to increase its efficiency; but the service itself is so attached to existing institutions that it is not likely to make suggestions for its own reform. The pertinacity of class bigotry in military matters seems almost to vie with religious polemics. We are willing enough to allow other people the comfortable belief that their method of managing their own affairs is the right one, but woe to the luckless wight who should presume to cross our boundary, and with his crude ideas attack our preconceived notions on subjects with which we ourselves are especially connected. Generally, we quietly set down the assailant as either presumptuous, ignorant, or jealous. Civil, Naval and Military, all of us are more or less wedded to our professional antecedents. A considerable part of our education has tended to this, for we have studied and made our own much of the “collective wisdom” of great authorities on the points at issue, and are staunchly conservative of their opinions. Hence it is, that the good and evil of a system are alike retained, that the majority of those who live under it are ready to do battle for traditional usage, and that it is stoutly adhered to, blunders and all, with a faith which a Jesuit might envy. Moreover, the virtuous indignation, which all attempts to alter the dress and equipment of Regular Cavalry in this country causes, arises frequently from regard to individual interests. A change of any sort, however slight, might be a prelude to further attack; contracts might be swamped by a sudden transformation of Regular Cavalry into Sillidari horse; and in the matter of uniform, any innovation would immediately affect the pockets of the public in general, and the pride of many a young Adonis on horseback in particular. There is a charm in blue and silver finery to which few young Dragons are insensible, particularly if while figuring in a ball room they have heard expressed by a pretty mouth admiration for their Indian Light Cavalry uniform, once characterised by English Royalty

as the handsomest dress at its Court. Some members of the service consider it perfection, or at least capable of being brought to that point by good commanders. Some again are averse to changes from the fear of a too sweeping reform or a virtual abolition of the arm, as at present constituted. There is, besides, a certain jealousy of the Regular Cavalry service in India, as it is considered inefficient, though much favored and highly paid. This is the *bonâ fide* opinion of some who are qualified to form an opinion, and the silly cry of others who have had no opportunity of knowing any thing about it. Hence the Cavalry themselves are apt to look upon proposals for reform as the result of ignorance or prejudice; and of all improvements, the utility of which is obvious, those affecting dress and equipment are most perseveringly opposed. Then again the regular service in this country is jealous of the irregular, and desires to be distinct from it in appearance. Yet a lesson might be learnt from Indian Irregular Cavalry in the matter of dress and equipment and partially in organisation, not only by Indian Regulars but by the Cavalry of every nation in Europe. At present our purpose is to treat of the former.

We begin with the most precious part, the head, and consider the best means of covering it. The essentials demanded in a head-dress for India are lightness, coolness, strength, ventilation, and protection from the sun, rain, and blows. These are obtained more readily and effectually in the helmet, than any other known head piece—Busby's Shako,* Lancer caps, heavy helmets, and the various and ridiculous monstrosities laid down in the dress regulations for the native Armies of the three Presidencies, are not worthy our consideration, and the sooner such useless toys are consigned to oblivion the better. In this matter many erroneous opinions are entertained. By most manufacturers of our army accoutrements it is supposed that a helmet to be serviceable must be heavy. This is a great mistake; for under favorable circumstances a sword cut well directed by a strong arm will penetrate some of the heaviest helmets now in use, although the force of the blow will be expended before it reaches the head; and even were they sword proof, as is supposed, their immense weight, with the great and long retention of heat by their metal, renders them all but useless in the field.† We would have such a helmet

* "The Shako is an inconvenient head dress; it carries a sabre cut indifferently, and so far from fending off the rain from running down into the cravat, it is such a capital conductor of it that not a drop is lost"—(*General De Brack*, page 13.)

† "A heavy head piece is every where a disqualification and a hindrance to the wearer; for, to heat and cumber the brain, which, being the source of all our powers and faculties, ought ever to be freest, can never be justified"—(*Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life*, by Wm. Ferguson, M. D.)

"At Gesling I saw the metal helmets of the cuirassiers cut completely through by sabre cuts"—(*General De Brack*, page 14.)

furnished to the Cavalry as all sensible men would prefer for wearing in the sun and riding across country, to any other head dress.

To these desiderata must be added another of great moment—protection to the back of the head, generally considered and proved in our late wars to be one of the most vulnerable parts of the body.

“The most vulnerable parts of the body are the head, the back of the neck, and the arms and legs. The Asiatics, well aware of this, cover those parts in their own bodies, and take immediate advantage of those who are not protected in like manner.”—(*Cavalry and its Tactics*, page 119.)

“The propensity of the Sikhs to aim their cuts at the back of the head, was so unequivocally manifested on the 22nd of November, that it became an object of consideration to the officers of the Army to provide some defence, however slight, for the precious caput. Some officers wrapped rolls of linen cloth round the back of the Csako, the folds of which hung down over their backs, affording some protection.”—(*History of the Second Sikh War, by Captain Thackwell.*)

The best materials for helmets are leather and felt. The natives of India have an objection to cover their heads with leather; but as felt has of late years been so extensively manufactured in Great Britain, and as it can be made lighter than leather, and at the same time equally waterproof, durable, consistent, and cheap, there is no reason why we should not adopt it. The helmet at present worn by the Life Guards is most serviceable, and has a soldierlike shape. In constructing ours for India, we have but to increase the size of the hinder peak considerably; then to join it and the front peak by a rim about two inches broad bound with a thin strip of metal, and curving out from the head so as to afford protection to the temples, and allow a free circulation of air. For the sake of this ventilation also the spike on the crest should be pierced. A turband should be wound about the helmet, each corps being allowed to adopt its own particular pattern and distinguishing color. Over the turband should be wound about two and a half yards of steel single curb-chain, which material should also be used for a chin strap. This combination of turband and curb-chain will resist the cut of a sword, if anything will; for the hard steel will turn its edge, and the soft covering beneath it will both prevent the chain being cut through and greatly diminish the force of the concussion. On parade and gala days the spike on the crest might be unscrewed, and a black, red or white plume substituted. Thus we have a most handsome head dress which, fulfilling all essential requirements, would be much liked and readily adopted by the native trooper.

Black leather belts would be far preferable to the pipe clay and frippery now in use, especially if they had none of the chains, buckles, and ornaments with which pouch-belts are so uselessly

encumbered. Pipe clay is so absurd that it has become a term of military reproach, and can only be placed in the same category as pig-tails and powder. Sabretaches and sling swordbelts are useless, troublesome and unnecessarily burdensome. Instead of slinging the sword, the common native "ekah" (a species of frog-belt, only an improvement on it) with a loop for the hilt should be adopted as the only good sword belt for cavalry. With this the sword does not swing about when the rider is in motion, but sits quietly and steadily by his side, and is more out of the way of kicks and blows, so that the chances of the wooden scabbard being broken are diminished. It is lighter, is more quickly put on; when on, the sword is quite out of the dismounted trooper's way, leaves his left hand free, does not require to be grasped when he has to march on foot, and all fear of its getting between his legs and tripping him up is avoided. This simple sword belt with its manifold advantages is no novelty, although a stranger might be led to suppose that it is, seeing that our Light Cavalry, Dragoons, Staff, mounted Infantry and Rifle Officers all wear one with slings, which has even been recently adopted by some. No; we found this said "ekah" in common use when we first came to India; Sir Thomas Roe saw it at Delhi, and President Kerridge at Surat, and we have no doubt but that the first horsemen ever entertained by the Factors of the Hon'ble Company wore it, as our Irregular Cavalry do to this day.

Let us see what our best books contain regarding 'Equipments.'

"The assimilation of everything to an European model, however absurd that model may be, has enabled the native army to accord in all outward appearances, ceremonies, and forms to the European Armies, but its real efficiency has thereby been destroyed; a Sepoy of the line dressed in a tight coat, trousers in which he can scarcely walk, and cannot stoop at all, bound to an immense and totally useless knapsack, so that he can hardly breathe, strapped, belted, and pipeclayed within a hair's breadth of his life, with a rigid basket chacko on his head which it requires the skill of a juggler to balance there, and which cuts deep into his brow if worn for an hour, and with a leather stock round his neck to complete his absurd costume, when compared with the same Sepoy, clothed, armed and accoutred solely with regard to his comfort and efficiency, forms the most perfect example of what is mally called the 'Regular' system with many European officers, contrasted with the system of common sense now recommended for adoption."—(*Remarks on Native Troops, by Major John Jacob, page 8.*)

"I have little to say about helmets, caps, jackets and dress in general, except that the most simple are best. The opinion is now gaining ground universally. But by simplicity I do not mean roughness, shabbiness or inelegance. So long as you can keep a soldier let him be well dressed and smart in his appearance. The great element of true elegance is the very simplicity I would recommend. To me it appears that we have too much frippery, too much toggerly, too much *weight* in things worse than useless. To a Cavalry soldier every ounce is of consequence. It seems decreed that the Hussar and the Lancer is ever to be a popinjay. Man-millinery in any shape is an

abuse and prostitution of the English character. Borrow and copy from foreigners whatever may be truly valuable in arms,—it is right and fitting so to do—but let us dress ourselves in serviceable garb that fears no stain, nor needs a host of furbishers to keep it in order”—(*Cavalry and its Tactics*, pp. 115—117.

“There are a number of most absurd and ill-suited uniforms in vogue for the different Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, and great improvements in this respect might be made. The principal points to be borne in mind are first, cheapness, for the means of the soldier who provides his own dress are small; secondly, durability; and thirdly, an absence of all tawdriness and useless glitter. The dress of Irregular Cavalry should be entirely native, and suited to their own tastes and habits”.—(*Hints on Irregular Cavalry*, pp. 81, 82.)

The truth of these opinions has been established beyond denial for many years. On service men adopt them spontaneously before they have been one month in the field; while those who have not seen service, if they inquire into the matter, must be conscious, even before they are convinced by the tales of their comrades, that there should be a complete revolution in the system of “Regular” dress. It seems absurd that we should still have to write against it; it is like attempting to prove the utility of steam or the falsity of the Ptolemaean system of astronomy; yet although so many excellent papers have been written, so many of our best officers have protested against particular parts of the system, although the truth of both opinions and protests have been proved in so many campaigns, the obnoxious equipments are upheld and folly is triumphant until this very day.

What says the voice of the illustrious dead? Let us hear that of the victorious and experienced leader Sir Charles Napier:—

“We assume as the type of the Cavalry horse the charger on a Hounslow Heath parade. Well fed, well groomed, well trained, he goes through a field day without injury, although carrying more than 20 stone weight, he and his horse presenting a kind of alderman centaur. But if they have, at the end of a forced march, to charge an enemy, the biped, full of fire and courage, transformed by war work into a wiry muscular Dragoon, is able and willing, but the overloaded quadruped cannot gallop—he staggers!—This is the picture which should regulate the dress of horse-men—bearing *à l'esprit* in mind the wasting sun which in India enervates man and beast.”

What makes up the 20 stone weight? and what causes the overloading of the troop horse? We need scarcely give the reply; the causes are as patent to our readers as ourselves. Frippery, gew-gaws, sabretaches, man-millinery, shabraques, sheepskins, bosses, embroidery, valises, Hussar pelisses, *cum multis aliis, usque ad nauseam*.

We have heard the opinion of a General. Now let us attend to the Captain of a troop.

Captain Hartmann, of the 15th Hussars, in a letter to the Minister at War thus expresses his views as to the costume of our Cavalry soldiers, a costume, be it recollected, which has been the

study of our most influential Cavalry Officers during forty years of peace.* He says :—

“ I believe it would be impossible for any person, however great his ingenuity, to devise a dress more unsuited to a horseman and a soldier, than the one in which our Cavalry have so long figured before the public. By a strange fatality, every part and portion of their dress is constructed so as to cause the greatest possible discomfort, and to impede the soldier in the performance of his duties. The result is, we hear of shakoës thrown away, straps and braces no where, overalls stuffed into the boots, jackets ripped open at the seams, &c. Our Cavalry are clothed as if their sole use was to show off in Hyde Park or the Phoenix, and please the eyes of the ladies. It never seems to have entered the minds of the people who devised this clothing that the work the soldier has to do is the roughest, the dirtiest, the severest that a man can be called upon to perform ; and that to put him into tight clothing, strap down his overalls, haul taut his braces, half choke him with his stock, tie in his waist, put a thing on his head which requires all his attention to keep it there, and which, if worn for a short time, drives him to distraction by its weight and pressure, and in addition to all this, hamper him with braid and lines and tags and tassels, is not exactly the way to dress a man who has to do the hardest possible work, and live day and night out in the open air in all kinds of weather. One of the consequences is, that to keep all this frippery clean, the soldier is encumbered with a lot of otherwise useless lumber.”

But what need of more dicta when all agree, except that fatal one contained in “ The Dress Regulations for the Army.”

The tight jacket with its laced front must give way to the loose Native “ ulkhaluk,” and for officers to an assimilating easy-fitting single-breasted and short frock coat, having a neat gold cord sparingly laid on for ornament and breast and side pockets. Let both have a steel-curb chain, either silver or gilt electro-plated, falling from the neck, over the point of the shoulder, and round that of the elbow down to the wrist. Let the double pantaloons-stripes consist of two such chains running from the hip to the ankle ; and by this simple means protect as much as possible the *edges of the body*, those portions which are invariably found to be the most exposed and vulnerable. Let a gauntlet be adopted, such as is recommended and sketched by Capt Nolan in his work, or a gauntleted glove, with a double row of steel curb chain passing up the outside and round the top of the gauntlet. Such precautions would have saved Stannus of the 5th Cavalry from an ugly wound on the outside of the fore arm ; and Arthur Cocks, the political, from being hamstringed by the Sikh Sirdars, who at Goojrat fled through the rear of our line to the front. Scales should be abolished, as they hamper the free use of either arm, check the sword arm when uplifted to cut, and prevent a trooper from sleeping on his side when on advanced guard or picket duty.

* The “ Times,” March 26, 1855.

For the feet shoes would be best (the common Hindoostanee ones for the trooper), and on all mounted duties, antigropelos might be added, double steel bars being attached to the outside, so that the leg would be protected from sword cuts and blows, and particularly kicks; at ten yards distance they can scarcely be distinguished from jackboots, over which they have several important advantages, besides being a kind of defensive armour. For instance, they will not retain water in rainy weather, or when Cavalry have to ford or swim deep rivers; every one is aware of the painful difficulty in pulling off a wet boot, the antigropelos is taken off in a second, and this is of importance when Cavalry are suddenly called upon to act as Infantry. We are aware of a case in point, although not at liberty to mention names or places. Not long ago, on a certain stronghold being attacked, the fire of the enemy was so hot that the Infantry fell back, and the Cavalry were ordered to dismount, link their horses, and go in sword in hand over the hedges, walls, and abattis, behind which the enemy were ensconced. They did, and carried the place gallantly; but had first to rid themselves of their jackboots. For this purpose, each man had to squat on the ground and beg his neighbour to lend a hand, during which precious time they were being galled by the enemy's fire. "Antigropelos" would have saved them five minutes, and probably as many lives. These useful articles can be detached from the leg whilst the wearer is mounted, and slung across the horse's withers. They should have a small and short spur affixed to the hinder portion, an inch or two above the heel. We may add that if these leggings were introduced, it would not be necessary to return to the antiquated leather breeches, which were very expensive, difficult to clean or to put on, hot and inconvenient; pantaloons of some thick white linen cloth, fitting close round the ankle, would be lasting, serviceable, and well looking. They should have short and tight loops up either side, to admit of the curb-chainstrips being readily and quickly run through them—the chain to fasten at both its ends.

We would here make one more remark on defensive armour, which belongs more to the ancient days of chivalry than to the present age. Objections might be made to it, as leading soldiers to place more trust in it than in their prowess; but proofs to the contrary are easily advanced. For instance, if you were to offer a man money on condition that he should strike a wall violently with his naked fist, and again, having cased his hand in leather and steel, were to tell him to do the same, there can be no doubt which would be the best delivered blow. So in action; the bravest man amongst us, having his most vulnerable parts well protected and his motions unimpeded, will charge home with more confidence in his power to injure his enemy, with a

stouter heart, and with less anxiety about himself than if he were unprotected. Moreover, the chances are more in his favor, and so far from diminishing his courage, we feel certain defensive armour adds to it considerably. Such defences as we would propose for general adoption by Light Cavalry in India, have long been in vogue with the Sind Horse, whose conduct and efficiency are the admiration of England as well as India.

The Forage Cap might be retained, but only for fatigue duties, and should be never worn when the trooper is mounted. Full dress should be abolished as useless, cumbersome, and ruinously expensive. It is a far more abundant source of debt to the Army than our rulers dream of. A Cornet, on first joining, has quite enough to provide out of his slender pay, without being overburdened by purchasing habiliments which he only wears twice or thrice a year, and then with great discomfort, if not torture. His two chargers will cost him Co.'s Rs. 1,500, and a full dress kit from a good outfitter will cost him fully Co.'s Rs. 2,000 by the time it reaches him in India. He has his Military Fund, Mess, and Band Fund donations to pay, and his tent to purchase; so that, if a lad he a model of prudence, he yet may be compelled to begin life with a debt on his shoulders little short of Rs. 4,000. To liquidate this he may perhaps, out of his salary of Rs. 310 a month, contrive to pay Rs. 100, so that in forty months he will be free *if he is careful, and meets with no losses*. This is not as it should be. A reform has already commenced in the Royal Army, and why should we in India, who are generally poorer men, have the boon either denied or delayed?

For the gala and ball dresses of officers a simple addition of white Kerseymere long breeches, having a double gold lace stripe down them, and that handsomest of all boots, the old Hessian, tipped with gold lace and tassels, might be admitted. Such with the short frock would make a toute ensemble of simple and soldierlike elegance.

"To rally quickly is of vital importance, and for this reason it is a great mistake to assimilate the uniform of all regiments, for it adds greatly to the difficulty of rallying in the presence of an enemy."—(Captain Nolan, p. 208.)

Of course it does, and therefore each corps should have some conspicuous mark, being distinguished either by the color of their coats, plumes or helmet-turbands, which would enable a trooper who had lost his place, or a skirmisher separated by the distance of a mile, to discover and rejoin his corps.

The saddle recommended by Captain Nolan is good in many respects, but no lighter than the one at present in use. It is too short in the seat and uncomfortable. The best possible pattern is a hunting saddle, made long in the seat to admit of holsters and

cattle. The Hussar stirrup is heavier, and not so pleasant to ride with as the hunting stirrup. The bridle and padding for saddle, recommended and illustrated by Captain Nolan in his work, are excellent and great improvements on those used by most of the Irregular Cavalry in India. Strength, lightness, ease and freedom for the horse's movements are essentials, and every unnecessary strap should be dispensed with, as adding extra weight.

Experience leads us to suggest that improvements might be made on Captain Nolan's horse appointments. The valise might be done away with, and the requisite kit carried by ponies as in Irregular Corps; its weight causes more than half the sore backs that occur, besides fatiguing the horse on a long march. Moreover, we much doubt its vaunted utility; for we have seldom, if ever, seen it used on field marches or long "dours." To the poll-piece of Captain Nolan's bridle we would attach a spare curb-chain by small buckles, to serve as a defence, or to replace that on the bit in case of its being lost.

We believe no one in India ever knew a horse's breastplate answer its purpose of preventing the saddle from slipping back. It is well enough in England with high-withered, small-barrelled and flat-sided horses, whose make causes the saddle naturally to retrograde; but in India where our horses are mostly all narrow in front, low-withered, round-barrelled and well-ribbed, it is useless. We cannot remember a single instance of a saddle slipping back, except through very loose and careless girthing, which can be instantly remedied. And such being the case, of what use are breast-plates? They weigh heavy, rather impede the freedom of a horse's action, and take more time in putting on than either saddle or bridle. Our bits also are too large and heavy, and our stirrup-leathers worn too long. On this latter subject, Captain Nolan's remarks are very much to the purpose.

Shabracques and saddle-covers should be numbered with the things that were, inasmuch as they are heavy, useless and expensive. In their stead, a blanket should be folded either beneath or over the saddle at the discretion of Commandants, as it would greatly alleviate the pressure of the saddle on a long march or a fatiguing field-day. Most Irregular Cavalry in India pursue an excellent plan, which cannot be too highly recommended or too quickly adopted by their Regular brethren. Instead of horse-keepers and a band of grass-cutters who are useless in war time, a pony and syce are attached to each commissioned and non-commissioned officer, and every two privates, with six ponies and six syces extra to each troop of sixty in case of sickness or emergency. The benefits of this system are numerous; the horse is lightened, as the trooper's extra kit, havresack, &c. are carried on the pony.

At present on detachments being sent from head quarters, they have no means of carrying their spare shoes, head-stalls, straps, &c. ; these ponies could carry them. If forage is scarce, they can travel twice as far as a man or woman on foot, and with a triple celerity—a matter of great moment in an enemy's country. Moreover they offer a far better chance of escape to the unfortunate followers, who are often cut off by the enemy's pickets or forage parties, and thus they obviate the necessity of forage guards. On a forced march there would be no lagging behind and keeping the horses without forage till evening, as is now common, for ponies with loads will walk as fast or faster than the regiment. They render a corps greatly independent of the commissariat at most times, and wholly so on a "dour ;" as they will carry a week's provisions for horse and trooper, and in a desert or devastated country this is of inestimable benefit. When a pony has only a light load, he can carry a trooper, whose horse may be sick or sorebacked, at least half his march.

"In India," says Sir W. Napier, "we have the best men, the best arms, and the best facility of organization ; but not the best discipline." This is true in the main ; though we have not the best arms, we possess the best horses, and in this respect Light Cavalry in India need less reform than any other. In the Bengal Presidency however, the stud-bred cattle do not answer. This proceeds not so much from any defect in the stud themselves, or from want of good management on the part of the officers ; for we believe the system to be as good as it can be, and the supervision and care bestowed upon it by officers to be unexceptionable ; but the localities of the studs are not favourable to the breeding of horses. On the contrary, the high and table-lands of the Dekhan and Mysore, covered with grass prairies of enormous extent, the banks of the Bhema river and the Man jungles have been proved to be well adapted for the purpose. Witness the old Dekhan or Maratha horse ; he was very nearly equal to the Arab in shape and make, and quite so in powers of endurance. That our present stud-bred horses are unequal to the work required of them, is acknowledged and incontrovertible fact ;* and until the "locale" of the Bengal stud is changed, Government should only supply as remounts Walers, Capes and Arabs ; of which the two former are perhaps preferable for Artillery, and the latter for Light Cavalry. If Lane's troop had been horsed with Arabs at Ramnuggur, he would not have lost his guns. When the stud-breds reached the bank which caused the mischief, they jibbed and throw off their collars ;

* There is no doubt but that the stud-bred horse of India is the worst of all.
(Remarks &c. p. 33)

whereas a little Arab would have gone down on his knees, and have broken his heart ere he gave in. Sir Walter Gilbert's letter alluding to this subject must be familiar to most of our readers, and the opinion of that gallant old soldier who had had more experience in, taken more pleasure in, and paid more attention to, horses than most men, adverse as it is to stud-breds and favorable to Arabs, claims much consideration. Major Jacob says:—

“The Arab horse is *unapproachable* in excellence by *all* other breeds for military purposes. A good Arab will *fly* with fifteen stone on his back; he will thrive on any fare, never loses his temper; is bold, gentle, docile and enduring; while he has almost as much sense and reason as some men.”

Our present school system of breaking in horses is long, troublesome, and not very effective; on the contrary, we have found by several trials, that the plan recommended by Captain Nolan, in his excellent manual on “The training of Remount Horses,” is quite simple and effective. It is easily taught to an intelligent rough-rider, and the horse broken in by it has all the qualities of a charger that a Cavalry Officer can wish, especially as regards mouthling and temper.

It cannot be too often repeated, that “to a Cavalry Soldier every ounce is of consequence.” We commend to the Military reader Nolan's remarks on overweighting our horses with useless uniform and accoutrements; and on that insane mania, by which many Cavalry Officers are possessed, of recruiting their regiments with giants—men, as a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* amusingly observes, “so short in the body and so long in the leg, as to look like the afternoon shadow of somebody else.” Let the Infantry keep their grenadiers, for a large active man on foot has an advantage over a smaller adversary; but this does not apply to the Dragoon or Hussar.

“It is not necessary that they should be men of five feet nine inches, or even five feet seven inches! but it is essential that they should be retive, intelligent, and quick sighted. Now these qualities, in combination with great physical strength, you may find in men not exceeding five feet four inches; and here, while your men are equal in value, you improve the value and efficiency of your horse, by lightening the burden on his back.”

In the charge speed tells more than weight; and as you increase the latter, you will decrease the former, in a ratio of one to four. Thus, if two bodies not differing materially in weight approach each other at equal rates of speed, the lighter one will be driven back on collision; but increase the speed of the lighter body by one-fourth of the proportion that the extra weight of the heavier body bears to it, and the latter will be overpowered. We are not sure this is quite in accordance with the mathematician's

law of forces, but are certain it is true in practice.* How great is the consideration that weight meets with in racing, where the addition or absence of a few pounds causes a horse to win or lose. Let our Indian authorities then at once abolish all standards of height, and rule that so long as a man is active, able, intelligent, quick-sighted, can pass before the medical authority, and is not actually a dwarf, he shall be entertained without reference to height. Let them no longer disregard the evidences they have had, to show how baneful are the effects of over-weighting. Even the strong English horse cannot stand it. What do the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan state in their evidence before the Crimean Committee, but that out of the 200 horses composing Lord Cardigan's reconnoitring patrol in the Dobrudscha, 140 became sore backed, two died, two were lost, many men were made useless by foot fever, and nearly the entire number were rendered unfit for service? Yet they only made 30 mile marches; so the distances did not ruin the horses, but the "*Light*" Dragoon weighing eighteen stone besides three stone of forage and provisions.

We approach the subject of discipline as applied to Light Cavalry in India with much diffidence,* so many able writers having previously exhibited the errors of our present system in treatises which apply to the whole Native Army. But it is our present purpose to show, that if the tenor of their remarks are suitable to the Army as a whole, much more so are they to Native Light Cavalry.

The Cavalry recruit is drawn from a respectable class of men, whose numbers are sadly decreased—the better sort of yeomen who formerly considered it derogatory and "bo-ashraf" to take menial service, and the rank of whose progenitors was nearly parallel to that of our better class of farmers in England. These men, still possessing some pride of birth, and claiming a mediocre respectability, find that by entering the mounted branch of the service they are exempt from many harassing duties, and from contact with the Pariahs and lower classes, whom they look down upon and refuse to consider as their fellows. Such is more especially the case with the recruits of the Bengal and Madras Cavalry. Our system of rule in India has gone far to clear away this particular class; many of them, who formerly were a credit to the arms they bore, now prefer an honorable poverty to entering the service of their fathers on a reduced rate of pay, and under a system of discipline foreign to their ideas and habits.

The reduction of pay was one of Lord William Bentinck's most ill-advised acts. An illiberal economy was then in favor, which time has shown to have been false in principle as well as practice. It was false in principle, because the saving to the State was so incon-

siderable as to be of no moment when compared with the crores of annual expenditure, and because it produced a feeling of dissatisfaction with the Government, which was subversive of its best interests and alienated the attachment of the Native troops. It was false in practice, because it has lost to us, and reduced to the level of the lower classes, a set of men whom it should have been our policy as well as our pride to preserve, as having assisted to gain our first great battles in India, and whom it is impossible to re-create. They were a feudal race, who have vanished with feudal times, and whose vacancies are unsupplied by any new aspirants of modern India.

To ascertain the reasons why the native soldier of India dislikes modern discipline, and why it has naturally failed to make an improved combatant of him, either physically or morally, should be a subject of deep thought and daily consideration with every European Officer in India, as well as with our rulers. "It is the dislike, the dread of our system of European discipline, which prevents many of the more respectable portion of the warlike classes of India from enlisting in the ranks of our Regular Army."* The discipline is partly that of the days of Clive and Lake, when our Sepoys were partial to it; in what, then, does it now differ so as to cause this dislike, this dread? In the frequent recurrence of new regulations, repeated alterations of General Orders, continual change of drill and manœuvre, especially in picket duties; one Commandant affecting one system, and another another, each upsetting the practice of his predecessor; in ever changing rules of interior economy, of Articles of War and Mutiny Acts; in our legal forms of Court Martial; in the uncomfortable and unsightly dress which the Native trooper cordially detests; in arms which he does not trust, accoutrements which are cumbersome, a saddle on which he cannot ride, and an hundred idle frivolities of individual caprice which pester and puzzle him into sullen stupidity or contumacious disobedience. Captain Trower remarks most pertinently :—

"With the active-minded European soldier leisure is generally only another term for license; he must be doing something; and if he has not his duties to attend to, the chances are, that he is in some mischief. The reverse is the case with the more indolent Asiatic; leisure to him is misery; and when relieved from his work, you will generally find him ruminating over his hookah, or placidly attending to his domestic concerns. I have known more harm done by silly alterations and change, regarding dress and accoutrements, or in the petty details of the interior economy of a troop, introduced with the best intention by some injudicious European officer, than those not conversant with the peculiar temper of Native horsemen, would conceive possible to arise from such causes."

And in another part he writes :

" We seem to have taken for granted, that because the European soldier was good and the system pursued towards him was found to answer well, that therefore the same causes must necessarily produce the same results in the Native soldier—that what was 'sauce for the goose, must of necessity be also sauce for the gander.' Never was policy more short sighted, but it is not yet too late to redeem the errors of the past. All the immense mass of evidence which has of late been collected regarding our Native Army, goes to prove, that there is a great deterioration since the olden times of Clive and Lake. The abolishment of the lash, the reduction of pay and authority in their European officers, and various other reasons, have been assigned as the cause of this : but it has always appeared to me as passing strange, that with so many officers intimately acquainted with Natives and their feelings, none should have suggested that our harsh and irksome system of drill and discipline, so unsuited, so heart-breaking to the Asiatic, might have materially assisted towards bringing about the melancholy result which all confess and all deplore."

The whole of Major Jacob's remarks on our present discipline are to the same effect, only far more strongly and authoritatively expressed ; but as his pamphlet has been so universally read and commented on, there is no need for us to repeat them here. We merely wish again to draw attention to them. Our discipline is as irksome and distasteful to the Native trooper, as is his dress. Many excellent officers, anxious to improve their men and do credit to their service, considering they are conscientiously following the path of duty, exercise an austerity and practise a harshness which, being wholly unsuitable to the Native trooper and incomprehensible to him, alienates him from his officers more than many acts of positive tyranny and actual injustice.

All men are far more easily led than driven, and suavity will effect infinitely more than harshness, especially with the class of natives to which we refer. Their affections and good will are as easily gained as a child's. To do this, the European officer should possess—and those who do not possess should strive to attain—kindness of manner, great patience, great firmness, superiority over the native in every thing ; he should show a ready attention to complaints, a willingness to hear a man's tale, although he may have reasons to know it will not hold good ; he should have much consideration for native prejudices and customs, and above all, his character should be like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. In proportion as the European officer strives to realize the beau ideal of a Christian Soldier and an English Gentleman, will he gain the affection and esteem of those he commands. Many appear to be of opinion, that because the native of India is vicious and unscrupulous, therefore he does not abhor evil and admire good in others. Depend on it that immorality, laxity of principle or of behaviour, irreligion, or any conduct which does

not pass in good European society, deeply degrades an officer in the estimation of a private. The subordinate does not show his disappointment openly : on the contrary, he will uphold and even aid in these delinquencies ; but let the hour of need, the day of battle, the moment of danger arrive, when men's hearts are failing them for fear, and all are looking anxiously around for counsel and a leader in whom confidence can be placed, and we have no hesitation in declaring, that the men will at once look to and confide in, with an unflinching faith, the Officer who has shone most conspicuously as a Christian and English Gentleman ; and will proportionately scorn or neglect the scoffer, the adulteror, the worthless and unprincipled libertine. Nay more, in more trivial matters, in the arrangement of their domestic concerns or in pecuniary affairs, they will hold to the one and despise the other.

Observe the opinion of that first rate Cavalry Officer, the late Captain John Sutherland :—" The mode of treatment suited to the habits and feelings of the Native horseman or ' Bhula Admi,' is a most important consideration. No soldier in India is more orderly or more respectful to his European Officers than the Native horseman. There is perhaps none whom kindness and good treatment will more lead to a gallant bearing in the presence of an enemy, or devotion to his Officers."

In forming an estimate of Native character, people fall into a prevalent error, by comparing the Indian with the European, instead of judging him *per se*. We protest against such disingenuous estimation of the Native, as he must suffer by the comparison. Witness the facilities for physical as well as intellectual improvement throughout civilized Europe—our schools and colleges, our hospitals and asylums, our factories, arsenals, and dockyards, our statues, pictures, and architecture, disseminating health and strength, knowledge and skill, through the length and breadth of the land. Then turn to India, and see what similar facilities we have here. With the exception of a very few at the Presidency, and those second rate in comparison with Europe, we have none. How, then, can the Native generally attain to the superiority of the European ? It would be equally fair to institute a comparison between the giant tree, grown in a fertile and well watered soil, and the stunted bush that springs up in the stony arid desert. What should we think of one who complained, that the wild horse of the prairie was unequal for equestrian purposes to the high caste and well trained thorough-bred ? Yet neither comparison is less absurd than that of which we complain.

Sir John Malcolm, in his Political History of India, asserts as a safe truth, that the value of all institutions depends upon their

being in unison with the community and Government to which they belong. That the present system of discipline in our Native army is not in unison with the feelings, habits, or prejudices of the individuals composing it, is an equally safe truth. To obtain the unison necessary to ensure a perfect harmony, we must all be prepared to make sacrifices and institute sweeping reforms. When the whole body is affected with disease, partial remedies are useless. We must one and all rid ourselves of the pernicious habit which prevails so extensively, of copying the Royal Army, and striving to render an Indian "Suwar" the facsimile of the English Dragoon. We must eradicate from our minds the erroneous and common idea, that whatsoever is good or necessary for one, is also good or necessary for the other. If we act on this absurd principle, we may strive with youthful energy, with all the calm consideration of manhood, or with all the matured wisdom of our later years, and bequeath it to our children's children to carry out with a Russian-like fidelity, yet still we must miserably fail, because the object of our care and solicitude is as dissimilar and distinct from the model we would copy, as the ox from the horse, or the owl from the eagle. We must judge of, speak to, act towards, and in all respects treat the Native as the Native, not as the European; for "two races of men, with principles of action and feelings so different, can never be successfully managed by adopting one system, and forcing it alike on both."

Our requirements are these—that our Articles of War be abrogated for something far more appropriate and comprehensive; that there be greater facility of intercourse between the officer and the sepoy; that more power be given to commandants—each in his degree, from the General down to the Cornet—that they be entrusted with full responsibility, and removed at once from their commands if they fail in the moral courage or capacity necessary to shew themselves worthy of responsibility; that less authority be assumed by the Adjutant General's and other Army Staff Offices; that such as are remarkable for youthful merit, active ability, and intelligent energy, be selected for promotion, and not as at present, only seniors with failing faculties; that consideration be shewn to the native soldier, but not that species of consideration which is shewn to the European. "The Oriental insists on being governed," writes Major Jacob. "A mild despotism is necessary in India," says Sir George Clerk; and our treatment of the Oriental should resemble that exercised by the Centurion more than 1800 years ago—"I say unto this man go, and he goeth; and to another, come and he cometh; and to my servant, do this, and he doeth it." Reasons and explanations are worthless to a native; nay, they

are hurtful, as he generally supposes them to be signs of weakness.

We are anxious to see healed all the jealousies existing between the Regular and Irregular services. The officers, men, and horses of the former, are as good as those of the latter in every respect ; but the discipline and organisation of Regulars fail. When that pursued in the Irregulars, and which has been proved to answer so well, is generally adopted, we shall no longer hear invidious comparisons made, no longer witness the rivalries that make each suppress the good which is to be found in the other, no longer hear that such preference is given to Irregulars, as was given by Lord Gough, and Hardinge, and Sir Charles Napier.

Let any one who doubts, or wishes to confirm the truth of, our remarks, peruse the concluding chapter of Sir John Malcolm's Political History of India, headed "General Reflections on the Government of India." None have comprehended the native character better than that illustrious man, and few have had such opportunities of doing so. One extract from it will be a fitting peroration for our article.

"Should any plan be suggested, by the action of which we can promise ourselves to improve and confirm the attachment of the military classes in India, and particularly of those employed in our ranks (at the same time that we accelerate the period at which they shall occupy themselves in peaceful pursuits, and become good, instead of dangerous subjects) we ought to hasten its adoption. Both the rigid principles of economy, and the usual forms of our Civil rule, should yield to the establishment of this corner stone of our strength ; as, without it, the vast fabric, which has been raised with such pains, must totter to its base at every tempest with which it is assailed."

ART. IV.—THE LAND ASSESSMENTS OF INDIA.

1. *Parliamentary Return. Revenue Survey of India, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London, 20th August 1853.*
2. *Modern India, a sketch of the System of Civil Government.*
By GEORGE CAMPBELL, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. London, 1852.

SINCE the days when the brilliant talents, unswerving resolution, inflexible and determined tenacity of purpose, possessed and exercised by Clive and Warren Hastings, had confirmed and consolidated our power and possessions in the East, in fact had permanently directed its chief streams of wealth into our coffers, no question has engaged a moiety of the interest, consideration, and discussion bestowed on the subject of our present article. On no one subject does there exist as much diversity of opinion; on no one subject are the arguments on either side apparently so equally conclusive; but at the same time we are bound to admit, that on no one subject of such pressing and vital interest, and on which opinions are so diametrically opposed, have the views held on all sides been more liberally and diffidently enunciated. We speak here, of course, broadly and generally, and principally of the great exponents of the various systems propounded, of Mr. Holt Mackenzie, of Mr. Bird, of Sir Thomas Munro, of Captain Wingate, of the ever-to-be-lamented Mr. Goldsmid. These are the wise men who have written and pondered, who have sifted and re-sifted the subject; who have weighed all conflicting evidence in the balance of a judgment, rendered acutely sensitive and critical by intelligent observation and unbending perseverance.

The task before us is, to trace out and develop these various views, for which purpose the materials we have selected are tolerably ample; and finally, with the aid of such light as we may discover during the course of our examination, to point out the errors and deficiencies in each. The subject of Land Revenue, as relating both to the various nature of tenures, as well as to the method and amount of its collections, is, we believe, by no means generally understood. A knowledge of a peculiar local system may not be wanting; but a comprehensive idea of the various systems, equally numerous and diversified, prevailing over the entire continent, is far from universal.

Nor is this to be wondered at, for the subject cannot be considered simple; its details, indeed, are most complicated; and the only sources of information, apart from actual observation and experience, are the official records of Government, and the Parliamentary Papers, the title of which is placed at the head of this article; neither the one nor the other are sufficiently succinct or condensed to offer much inducement to perusal.

And here we cannot refrain from expressing our deep conviction of the vast benefits likely to accrue from the plan Government has recently adopted of publishing selections from its records. Any one almost may now acquire with comparative ease a very tolerable acquaintance with most of the important operations progressing throughout the presidency; or he may learn the condition and prospects, the statistics and peculiarities, of any of the Collectorates or dependencies of Bombay. This indeed is a great and important step, even in this age of great reforms and great improvements,—a boon not only to be highly estimated by the community at large, but in itself a great addition of strength to Government. There is not, there cannot be, a question but that our Government—we speak in the generic term of an English Government—is in every proceeding, from every point of view, the most straightforward and honorable Government which the world can produce; we say it in no spirit of self-complacency; but feel convinced that the heads of our Government, as English gentlemen in the true sense of the term, are incapable of *individually* doing that which is deliberately dishonorable. Only the injudicious, almost inane, practice of *secrecy and monopoly of information* has so frequently induced unreflecting and precipitate men to accuse Government, as a body, of acts and proceedings, of which they would have considered them incapable as individuals—of acts and proceedings, the perfect integrity and uprightness of which would have been established at once, without cavil, without doubt, without one uneasy suspicion, had a reasonable publicity been afforded to their necessitating causes. The age for extended publicity, for free discussion, for communicating freely to the people at large the *whys and the wherefores* of Government, for explaining fully and explicitly the *causa*, as well as the *modus operandi*, in every important action, has long arrived. It had arrived in Lord Metcalfe's time; he felt the urgent pressure of the necessity; he appreciated the importance of the movement; and seizing the opportunity which fortuitous circumstances had, for a few short months, placed in his hands, he took the first great initiatory step, and liberated the press.

The mission of that press in India is, we must think, of high importance; its capabilities for diffusing the most valuable information,

its usefulness as a medium for the prosecution of free and instructive discussion, its powerful voice for the exposure of injury, injustice, and wrong cannot be too highly appreciated. For the successful and legitimate attainment of this great object many of our Indian newspapers have labored steadfastly, and with a zeal and intelligent perseverance, well worthy of so noble an end; and although we are compelled to deplore that some portions of the press have fallen into hands, which, by their low malevolence and personal scurrility, have assisted in degrading the status of the fourth estate, still we think that Mr. George Campbell is guilty of no small injustice, and exhibits no small want of discrimination, when he stigmatises the entire Indian press in the following terms: "It is certain that the Indian press has become unscrupulous beyond all precedent, and extremely false and libellous; and that it is only tolerable, because most of the papers have rendered themselves discredited and contemptible."

Highly appreciating, as we do, the boon conferred on the community by the publication of selections from Government records, we are still of opinion that one step remains yet to be taken, before the liberality of Government fully accomplishes its full purpose. We consider that the value of these publications would be most materially enhanced, if *readable* epitomes of their contents were attached to them. We much fear that, in their present form, they are regarded by the majority of Government officers, who do not happen to be immediately interested or mixed up with their subjects, in the same light as a parliamentary blue-book, into which every letter or paper, relating to the question under discussion, is thrust with no other arrangement than a strict chronological order. The consequence is, that these selections, replete indeed as they are with valuable information, are read only by a comparative few; and thus the sphere of their usefulness becomes considerably circumscribed. Such an analysis, as we propose, would be a matter of easy accomplishment, and would be cheerfully undertaken, we are confident, by the original compiler of the Report, or by any one of the persons principally concerned in it. Numbers would read the epitome gladly, who now regard the voluminous selections with distaste; an interest in the subject, and a desire to become acquainted with more minute details, would be excited.

But to return from our digression. The Moghuls, to whose empire and institutions we very generally succeeded throughout India, seem to us, in many prominent points, to have closely resembled the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The aristocratical element was the basis of their entire political system; but they differed from the Normans in the important particular that they recognised no hereditary aristocracy. Rank was the result of official

position, and of that alone ; and official position was dependant on the will and power of the sovereign. The appointment of Viceroys to the largest divisions, called Soubahs, emanated entirely from Delhi, the head quarters of the empire ; the Viceroys themselves, residing generally in the chief towns of their principalities, appointed in their turn Kardars, or Karbaries, for the management of the subdivisions called Purgunnahs, containing from two to three hundred villages. These Karbaries were invariably men of importance, wealth and consideration ; their powers were very considerable, as their functions included an almost irresponsible jurisdiction, fiscal as well as judicial, over their respective districts—powers, indeed, very much more considerable than those exercised in the present day by ordinary collectors. The only officers under the Moghuls, whose hereditary succession to office seems at all to have been tolerated, were the district Zemeendars, and the Canoongoes ; and these officers are recognised by us to the present day, under the designation of Deshmooks and Deshpandehs. A Canoongoe, or Deshpandeh, is simply a district or purgunnah accountant ; his duties were to receive and examine the Zemeendar's annual statement, to check his errors, intentional or otherwise, to press him for arrears, and eventually to place his accounts, in a clear and satisfactory form, before the Kardar, who, satisfying himself as to their correctness, forwarded them to the dufter of the Viceroy ; where, if subjected to a favorable audit, depending in its nature on the extent of bribery employed, they were endorsed as " passed," and the amount placed to his credit in the account-current. We imagine that few terms have been more misunderstood, or misapplied, than the term " Zemeendar." It conveys precisely the original idea intended, unmistakably pointing out what was really the office of the person signified. The word " Zemeen" means land, and the affix " dar" one who manages or takes charge of any thing ; and this exactly explains the duties and functions of a Zemeendar, properly so called ; in fact, he was simply a supervisor ; he was no more a proprietor of the district he supervised, than was the Canoongoe who checked its accounts. The remuneration of both these officers was regulated almost entirely by a fixed per centage on the collections ; the amount of this per centage varied of course considerably ; but the average was collectively about 5 per cent, in the proportions of 3 to the Zemeendar, and 2 to the Canoongoe. Under a native rule, however, it may easily be conceived that the Zemeendar, acting as the immediate tax-gatherer of so large a district, and having yearly two or three lacs of rupees passing through his hands, became very shortly a man of almost unlimited influence and extensive property ; and the consequence was, that when the weakness of approaching dissolution paralysed, in a measure,

the once unbounded energy of the Moghul Government, many of the Zemeendars succeeded, with the aid of their Canoongoes, in ousting the original Kardars, and in dealing themselves directly with Government in the light of proprietors. The change to Government, in its then weak state, appeared immaterial; and as long as the accustomed quota of revenue was forthcoming, they cared little to examine its source.

This we firmly believe to have been the origin, with occasional diversities here and there, of the proprietary rights of the Zemeendars throughout India, so stoutly upheld by Lord Cornwallis. And they were recognised throughout the settlement of the North-Western Provinces in all, except the Bhyacharah, or intact community villages; notwithstanding the important light thrown on the subject from the experiences of the past, in the permanent settlement of Bengal, which, starting on the basis that every estate was the private property of some individual or individuals, and belonged neither to the cultivators on the one hand, nor Government on the other, inflicted on some twelve millions of human beings an injury as grievous as irremediable, and as unnecessary as can well be conceived. Let us consider a little more fully the nature of this Permanent Settlement in Bengal.

The entire face of the country is dotted over with villages, consisting, in some cases, of half a hundred huts; in others of half a thousand or more;—but the principles regulating each are precisely similar; the constitution is the same; the functions of the whole as a body politic, or of individuals as units of that body corporate, is no wise different, if we extend our inquiries from the Southern Decan to the Northern plains of the Jumna. The whole of the soil belongs to, and is attached to, some one village or other; and the peculiarly strong and lasting attachment to that soil, and to his village, is one of the most prominent, most pleasing features in a native's character. However long his absence, however great his prosperity may have been elsewhere, however effectually death may have deprived him of the friends and relatives of his youth, he never ceases to regard his native village with feelings of lively affection: he never ceases to yearn, that he may once again be enabled to sit gossiping under the old gateway, or to lie dreamily for a few hours under the wide spreading shade of the Peepul where he reposed so often when a boy; of patriotism he knows nothing; for his country, for his race, aye, for the neighbouring hamlet, he cares nought; the one may be conquered, or the other destroyed, still for them he has no grain of sympathy; but for his own village his affection remains lively, and vivid, and unchanged to the end of the chapter.

On first taking possession of the country, we could not get rid of the idea that some one, independent both of Government and the cultivators, must possess the fee-simple of the land as hereditary right; but this principle was not strictly acted upon, in the first instance. Leases of certain villages were granted to mercantile speculators for short terms of years. The lessees were to pay Government a certain fixed sum annually, with powers, of course, to raise as much as they possibly could from the wretched cultivators. That they extracted from them every cawrie they could reach, is certain; that they extracted far more than the Government demand, is equally certain; but, native-like, feeling no absolute pressure compelling them to keep their agreements, even when those agreements were so advantageous to them, they failed continually in their payments to Government. Their estates were then sold to the highest bidder; and the same horrible circle of grinding oppression on the cultivators, and loss to Government, was re-commenced.

The evils of the system were felt and acknowledged on all sides, and, instead of diminishing, seemed but to increase with each succeeding season. The result was the precipitate application of a remedy—a remedy, alas! that only made the disease chronic. This was the famous perpetual, or rather permanent settlement, originated by Lord Cornwallis in 1787, and completed in 1793. We are lost in wonder and amazement when we contemplate the basis, or rather utter absence of all basis in that settlement. A simple list of estates—clusters of villages, or parts of several villages, which had been rented to farmers, speculators, or self denominated Zemeendars—was made out. Every individual who could succeed in establishing the slightest claim, or had the shadow of a claim, to possession in any one or more of the estates, was at once acknowledged as a proprietor, and entered in the register as such. The very few estates, where no proprietary claim could possibly be made out, were sold to the highest bidder. The Government demands on each estate were generally fixed at hap-hazard, varying, of course, as might be expected, from a sum greater than the actual rent in some cases, to less than 50 per cent of the true rent in others. No survey whatever was instituted of these estates; they possessed no boundary marks at all, and, when sold up for defalcation, could frequently only be taken possession of by the assistance of two or three hundred fighting men, hired for the purpose; and if a dozen lives or so were lost on the occasion, the sleek darogha of the district was a sufficiently discriminating gentleman, not to take down evidence of too crushing a nature. The Government demand was made in perpetuity, and when punctually met by the proprietor, he was at liberty to manage his estate as he pleased; the village com-

munities, those strong, intact, little republics, which had existed in their integrity almost from time immemorial, were henceforth to be handed over, bound hand and foot, deprived of every chance of redress or appeal, to the tender mercies of irresponsible native masters, to the licentious spendthrift Baboo, or to the grinding, unfeeling, rack-renting Banian. And the result is before us, sad and more saddening the better we become acquainted with its grievous details. Bengal, the fairest, the most fertile province of our Indian empire, sending forth annually its crores of valuable productions, enriches and benefits, at the most, but a few hundred mercantile speculators. Its people, its hard-working twelve millions of cultivators, the actual producers of all this wealth, are in a condition notoriously but little superior to that enjoyed by the negro of the Southern States; and for being so subjected to this system of extortion, oppression, and bondage, they have to thank Lord Cornwallis, and his Permanent Settlement. As a man of sterling integrity, of anxious, though mis-directed, zeal for the service of his employers, we admit that Lord Cornwallis may have been actuated by the best intentions; but, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that he was guilty of a culpable precipitation, and an overweening confidence in a plan of his own conception, to which he could not have devoted a moiety of the thought or deliberate and earnest consideration, which the vastness of the subject, and the momentous interests at stake, unquestionably demanded. A thorn in the foot, or a cataract in the eye, is undoubtedly a great and pressing evil; but what would be thought of the judgment or discretion of a surgeon, who should propose an amputation of the foot, or an extraction of the eye, as a remedy? Lord Cornwallis obviated the evils of a fluctuating and uncertain revenue, by sacrificing, on the one hand, half its legitimate amount, and, on the other, the interests of the unfortunate cultivators, who naturally looked up to him for support and protection. The injury, however, was perpetrated; and to remove it entirely now, has become impossible.

Still, much has been done to alleviate and lessen the evil: the estates have been marked off and registered, with some approach to exactitude; but, above all, Government of late years have permitted Europeans, English gentlemen, to become purchasers of the estates; and the beneficial effects of the new element in the proprietary class, have already been largely experienced. The increasing demand for, and consequently enhanced price of, Indigo, the best variety of which Bengal—owing to its waters being entirely free from all mineral properties—alone can produce, has steadily, year by year, increased the value of most of the estates; to such an extent indeed, have they risen in market-value, that many of them yield not more than 3 or 4 per cent on the

purchasing capital ; that is to say, the difference between the amount collected as rent, and the amount paid as the Government demand, affords only three or four per cent, and occasionally even less than this, on the original sum paid for the estate. The ryots of Bengal have an invincible dislike to the cultivation of Indigo ; the origin of this dislike, it seems impossible to discover ; but the fact remains that, unless compelled to do so, they never would cultivate an acre with it. And this circumstance explains the value which property commands in the market. The possession of an estate enables the proprietor to compel the cultivators in it to produce a certain quantity of Indigo plant, which he purchases from them at the rate of six or eight bundles for the Rupee, each bundle containing as much of the plant as can be circled by a six-foot chain. The production of Indigo, more especially on a great scale, has been found so extremely profitable, that a large number of Europeans, and a vast amount of European capital, are already engaged in its manufacture. Silk, sugar and rum, have also attracted considerable notice of late ; and, under the systematic vigour and energy of European supervision, have already commenced to yield large returns. In seasons of general failure either from drought, or blight, or other causes, Government frequently, in the most liberal spirit, allow considerable remissions of their demands ; when this occurs, which it does not unfrequently, the cultivators who are fortunate enough to be on the European Zemeendaree estates invariably derive their fair share of the indulgence ; but where the Zemeendar is a native, no such equitable arrangement is to be expected. He himself falls down abjectly at his lord's feet, and urges that his utter ruin will follow, if some consideration be not extended to him, if some remission be not allowed ; the consideration is made, the remission is granted ; and he goes out of his lord's presence but to take his wretched dependants by the throat, and extract from them, with an unrelenting hand, the utmost farthing. Love of his native village, dislike of change, constitutional apathy, and long endurance of oppression, are the causes which alone prevent the cultivators leaving the Native Zemeendaree estates. The Zemeendars understand these matters thoroughly, and know exactly when to withhold the last pound that would break the camel's back. We believe that a brighter day is yet in store for Bengal—a day of regeneration, to commence when every acre of the country is in the hands of Englishmen, when the Bengal cultivators may at least become free and fairly remunerated laborers, as well circumstanced almost as the agricultural classes in England, instead of being as they now are the helpless victims of a tribe of grasping, but luckily at the same time spendthrift Baboos. These Baboos of young India have gained, with the snattering of an

English education, a thorough acquaintance with European licentiousness, and its concomitant extravagance. The free indulgence of these vices paves the way for the rapid transfer of their property to European hands, into which two-thirds of the estates in the Province have already found their way. That the remainder may do so shortly, is most earnestly to be desired.

But although the fatal tendencies and results of the Permanent Settlement system pursued in Bengal seem so palpable to us, the originators and promulgators of the system were so persuaded of its inestimable benefits, that they pertinaciously insisted on applying it to the Madras Presidency ; and imperative orders for its gradual introduction issued from the Supreme Government. The constitution of the villages in the Madras Presidency was precisely similar in every essential to those we have described, as existing in other parts of India—each village or community complete in itself, and almost perfectly independent of all foreign assistance. In addition, however, to the Zemendars and district accountants of the South, there existed here, in some of the wilder provinces, a few men termed “ Polygars,” who apparently for some considerable time had possessed certain hereditary claims to a portion of the rent of their respective districts. Although originally, in all probability, they were merely predatory chiefs, still prolonged possession had given their claims a semblance of right, which Government would hardly have done well to ignore. With this solitary exception, we believe no one had a shadow of right to intervene between the cultivators on the one hand as tenants, and Government on the other as landlord. The intervention of any third party could only take place legitimately, either by the consent of both the original parties, or by one party voluntarily abdicating its rights, in favor of the interloper. That no third party existed between Government and the cultivators in many districts is amply proved, by the necessity there arose for actually creating the interloper by the sale of the estate.

But these startling facts mattered little ; the orders from Calcutta were peremptory ; estates were disposed of right and left ; and a large portion of the Presidency became subject to the same curses and the same oppressions that had followed in the wake of the famous Bengal Permanent Settlement. Most fortunately, the experiment was not universally carried out ; and large sections of the Province still remain unfettered. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal, and its partial introduction into Madras, had been accomplished but a very short time, when the tests of experience commenced to throw a most unfavorable light upon it, or rather, we should say, that its inevitable results merged forth, and stood out prominently in their true character. Men saw the fatal error they

had committed, and from that day any proposed system, having for its basis a perpetual settlement, was at once rejected. Various systems were adopted for short periods, until the advent of Sir Thomas Munro ; but none seemed to answer satisfactorily.

The Ryotwaree system is generally supposed to have originated with Tippoo, but we can hardly coincide with this ; we cannot conceive it possible that a man who lived in the eighteenth century, should have been the originator of a system of Revenue management, which seems to us the only natural system that ever could have existed amongst a free and tolerably civilized people. We admit the village community system,—that of joint responsibilities, and joint advantages,—to have been more ancient ; inasmuch as, in itself, it implies and indicates an unsettled state of society. The Ryotwaree, on the other hand, indicates a step in advance, and points to a higher condition of civilization, when individuals can stand by themselves, and the fortuitous props afforded by their neighbours are no longer required.

Whether it be either politic or necessary to prop up and continue the village system, the very organization of which was the result of an unsatisfactory condition of Government, after the necessitating causes of that arrangement have entirely passed away, is quite another question. We administer physic, and we recommend a peculiar regimen, as long as the functions of the body continue disorganized ; but when those functions resume their proper healthiness of action, we should hardly consider it necessary to continue the same system of treatment. To see men acting singly and independently, is evidently the natural result of a higher condition of civilization and order, than to see them forced into combination for purposes of mutual protection. As long as the necessity existed for the combination, the arrangement unquestionably was an excellent one, and fully accomplished its end ; but when that necessity no longer existed, the arrangement which had been made to meet it, and was in itself one merely of expediency, should also have terminated. That the necessity and the consequent arrangement had existed for a very considerable period, in no way alters the question. The remedy unquestionably was excellent and efficient ; but still it was intrinsically an evil, and only to be tolerated so long as the greater evil existed, which it was intended to counteract. Under the strong and energetic rule of a British Government, that evil has passed away ; society is thoroughly organized ; life and property are as safe as they are in any part of the world ; oppression and extortion shrink away, paralysed on every side under the broad light of an even-handed justice, which is no respecter of persons ; and each may now sit under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. The object

then, for which the system of mutual responsibilities was originated, no longer exists. We contend, therefore, that the necessity for continuing the system has also ceased, and that to continue it is to offer a check to the legitimate development of independence of thought and action, so essential to the progressive welfare of a nation emerging, but now, from an age of anarchy, misrule, and lawless oppression. Such we consider to be, mainly and broadly, the arguments in favor of Ryotwarce, over the village system pursued in the North-West Provinces. We shall hereafter endeavor to give a more particular description of both systems—the village system of settlement, as it now exists in the North-West, and as it was originated by Mr. Holt Mackenzie; and the Ryotwarce system of Bombay, perfected by the Revenue survey and assessment, devised by Mr. Goldsmid and Captain Wingate.

On the arrival of Sir Thomas Munro at Madras, he devoted his talents and energies, both of which were considerable, to a consideration of the much-vexed question of Land Revenue, in relation to the best terms and method of its collection. Fully alive to the vast evils of the Bengal permanent system, and aware also of the failure of an attempt at village settlements in Madras, he became convinced of the theoretical advisability of adopting the Ryotwarce, as the only possible system alike equitable to the Government and to the cultivators. The Court of Directors approved of his views; and by the close of the year 1820, the Ryotwarce system was generally introduced throughout the Madras Presidency. But good becomes evil, in the precise ratio of its perversion. Just and equitable, and capable of diffusing incalculable good as the Ryotwarce system was, if applied in its integrity, it became, by its perverted application, an evil of no small magnitude. The first principle of it is, that the Government shall strictly confine its demand, in the character of landlord, to the just rent of the soil; in fact, that it shall never allow its demand to encroach on the interest of stock or invested capital. The proportion of the produce to be considered as rent, has been very variously estimated. In ancient times one-fifth, or even one-sixth of the produce, was considered as representing an equitable and just rent; but the highest estimate ever proposed considered one-third as the maximum proportion. Yet the Madras Government, in fixing its Ryotwarce assessment, utterly ignored this essential principle, and demanded from 50 to 70, and, in some cases, even more than 70 per cent from the unfortunate cultivators. And the actual amount of the assessment was determined, in these proportions, from the production of the most favorable past seasons.

The consequence of this iniquitous system was, that vast remissions had to be granted in almost every season, as the cultivators were ut-

terly unable to meet such extortionate demands. During the few last years, something has been attempted to ameliorate this wretched state of affairs, by the institution of a rough survey, and a revised assessment, of the land ; but still the average amount of the Government demand is about 40 per cent of the gross production ; and the consequence is, that, excepting the Bengal cultivators, the Madras ryots are the most wretched and miserable in India. Under these circumstances, the unsatisfactory result of the Ryotwaree settlement in Madras is not much to be wondered at ; the very first steps taken provided most effectually against the remotest chance of success.

On every ground, and in every point of view, is the exaction of an undue rent to be reprobated ; whether considered in the inferior light of a financial question of expediency, or in the superior light of the moral obligations of Government to its dependent subjects. Over-assessment, by draining the resources of the cultivators must year by year circumscribe the extent of cultivation, until it eventually reaches the minimum capable of satisfying merely the home consumption ; on the other hand, the cultivator, when left to enjoy the proceeds of his stock and capital, is enabled to accumulate funds ; this leads to a corresponding increase of cultivation, and consequently a progressively enlarged Revenue for Government.

But whilst pointing out the reasons precluding all chance of success to the Ryotwaree system as applied to Madras, we do not intend to assert that it would necessarily have succeeded, had a fair average assessment been imposed. We believe that, to enable it to work satisfactorily, the utmost care and attention must be paid to several minor details, as well as to the more important question of the rates of assessment ; and we feel persuaded that, even supposing a perfectly just assessment imposed, still failure will be the inevitable result, if these details to which we allude be omitted. These essential details are fully supplied by the Revenue Survey now in progress throughout the Bombay Presidency, the operations of which we shall hereafter describe as comprehensively as possible. Having thus briefly glanced at the system of Revenue management pursued in Bengal proper and in the Madras Presidency, we hasten to describe a very different state of things in the North Western Provinces, those fair and fertile provinces watered by the magnificent streams of the Gogra, the Ganges, the Ramgunga, and the Jumna, meandering, as they do, through the length and breadth of the land, from Gorruckpoor and Benares in the East, to Delhi and Hurriana in the West ; thus watering an area of some 72,000 square miles, which contains a population of nearly twenty-four millions, two-thirds of whom are agriculturists, and yields a revenue to Government of upwards of four millions sterling per annum.

On taking possession of the country, we found here, as elsewhere, a variety of tenures and holdings, differing, however, in some essential respects from those in other parts of India. These we shall briefly describe. The original tenure, we believe, in each case to have been precisely the same, and to have had its origin in the village communities to which we have previously referred. Villages, the original constitution of which has been preserved intact, and from which foreign interlopers have been successfully excluded, are called "*Bhyacharali*"—the word itself signifies, a "possession of the brotherhood." They have from time immemorial paid their "land tribute,"—we use the word advisedly, as being distinct from rent—to the ruling power, direct, without the intervention of any third person. Essentially democratic, they carefully guard against any one, even of themselves, obtaining the least undue authority or influence. For the common management of their affairs, under the working of a free ballot, they elected a Committee or Punch. The duties and responsibilities of the Punch were neither few nor light; they had to make the best terms they could with Government; they had fairly to apportion, and subsequently to collect from each cultivator, his quota of the tribute; they had to entertain public guests, to bribe Government Officers, to arrange all Municipal matters, and in fact, to do all that which, without their aid, must have been done individually and severally by the community; and in return, they enjoyed all the honors of the office, as well as its indirect and collateral advantages of occasional speculation. The number of the Punch was always more than two, and seldom less than five.

The next tenure we shall notice, and the class to which most of the villages belong, is that termed the "*Village Zemeendaree*."—Here again, the original constitution was evidently the same; but time and various circumstances of the past have wrought the change. The equality, the joint responsibility, and the joint advantages no longer exist; a faction has arisen; the members of a powerful family in the village have strengthened themselves, probably at first, by insidious and almost imperceptible degrees; year by year, gradually though surely, have they succeeded in gaining the upper hand, until, at last, they have managed to settle and pay the Government demand themselves. A generation has passed away; and the upstarts are looked upon, by all, as the actual proprietors of the village. They are henceforth termed the village *Zemeendars*, become responsible to Government for the revenue, and extort as much as possible from the remaining cultivators. Very generally, these village *Zemeendars* are themselves cultivators; the best lands are, of course, appropriated by them, but are brought to the general

credit of the village at a very low, or perhaps at only a nominal, rent; the total rents of the village are then collected; the amount of the Government demand is extracted, and the remainder is divided among the Zemeendars themselves.

The third and last variety of tenure we have to notice, is the District Zemeendaree. The gradual conversion from the Bhyacharah to the Village Zemeendaree tenure, which we have just noticed above, having taken place, a further step in alienation and wrong was the inevitable result. In the district Zemeendaree tenures, the proprietary right is held by one or more persons over a number of villages, and the estate or mehal is denominated either a Talooka or Purgunnah, if sufficiently extensive. The proprietors or Zemeendars pay a lump-sum to Government for the entire estate, settling themselves with each village separately; or they farm out the estate in larger or smaller subdivisions to mercantile speculators. The rent, or net produce of each village, is therefore supposed to yield a fair profit to three distinct interests: First, to the Government; Secondly, to the Zemeendar; and Thirdly, to the mercantile speculator.

It may be assumed at once, that the natural rent, even supposing it to be at the maximum amount of one-third of the gross produce, is quite unequal to this three-fold demand upon it. The inevitable inference then presents itself, that the whole, or at least a very considerable proportion, of the fair profits of the cultivator, the interest of stock &c. must have been encroached upon, to meet the unequal demand; and consequently that, wherever the village Zemeendaree or the district Zemeendaree tenure exist, the cultivators cannot possibly enjoy the slightest profits, beyond the mere wages of labor, the bare means of subsistence. No native Government, not even that of Ackbar, has ever been sufficiently strong, or sufficiently organized, to create an internal machinery for the working of any Revenue system, dispensing entirely with the aid of middlemen of one class or another. Tippoo's attempt to introduce the Ryotwarree in the South, and Ackbar's plan of the separate village leases in the North, were both experiments on a very limited scale; and cannot, therefore, be looked upon as general systems. Zemeendars, or middlemen of any kind, must be regarded merely in the light of drones; as uselessly absorbing a vast proportion of wealth, which should remain either with the actual producers on the one hand, or should be taken by Government on the other, as a portion of its legitimate revenue, as affording additional means for the execution of various schemes and projects, tending to the general improvement and benefit of the country. With native Governments, inherent weakness compelled the sacrifice of a portion of the just rent due to them in the capacity of landlord;

and they acted wisely in making the sacrifice ; but still it was a sacrifice, and only to be tolerated because it was a necessity. With us fortunately, there is no such compulsion ; our executive is as strong and as amplified as in England itself ; in short, our power and capability for dealing with the minutest details of revenue management is absolutely sufficient ; and, therefore, for us to give up to useless, and occasionally worse than useless, middlemen a large portion of the rent of the land which is our just due, and which we are bound, by every consideration of right, to collect for the benefit of the country at large, is deliberately to commit a double wrong, a wrong both to ourselves and to the people we govern. It is vain to urge "vested rights," or other proprietary claims based on mere prescription ; we believe, startling as the assertion may at first appear, that prior to the British rule, no individual or private right in the soil whatever existed practically ; but we shall quote the words of the great advocate of the North-West system, Mr. Thomason :

"So long as the sovereign was entitled to a portion of the produce of the land, and there was no fixed limit to that portion, practically the Sovereign was so far owner of the land, as to be able to exclude all other persons from enjoying any portion of the net produce."

That is to say, the condition of the law permitted the Sovereign to appropriate the gross produce of the land, minus the cost of production, including the wages of labor. • That he did not invariably so appropriate the net produce, we have already admitted ; but this in no wise alters the question. He had a *right* to the entire rent of the land, and consequently was its sole proprietor and landlord ; and till his demand was fixed by law at some amount less than the net produce, the existence of any other proprietary right or title was impossible. That this demand never was limited by law under any native rule, we know ; and it therefore follows inevitably that, practically under our predecessors, no Government, no private or individual property in the soil could have existed. Unquestionably then on taking possession of the country, Government might, in perfect justice, have repulsed and ignored every claim tending to lessen its powers and advantages as universal landlord. To understand the question properly, it is necessary to bear in mind the great difference between right and expediency. We do not here assert that it would have been *expedient* for Government to assume the functions of universal landlord ; we simply say, it might have done so without committing either wrong or injustice. We shall notice the question of expediency hereafter. In the North-West, it was considered advisable that Government should abdicate a portion of its rights in favor of a class of middlemen, or rather we should perhaps say, more correctly, to express the principle followed, that Government determined in no

case to retain to itself the rights or functions of a landlord. Mr. Thomason says,

“ Government, however, has no desire to retain the proprietary right in its own hands, and in such cases” (where no claims are advanced) “ commonly confers the right on any one, who, by local influence, or by successful exertion in the management of the township, may have preferential claims to the indulgence.”

We subjoin his statement of the advantages, both to the people and to the Government, expected to flow from the system.

“ The system is evidently one which is not calculated to yield the largest amount of land revenue. It cannot be introduced into a highly cultivated and fully peopled country, which had been administered according to the native or any other similar method of Ryotwar management, without an apparent immediate diminution of the Government demand on account of land revenue. The compensation for this would be sought in the increased prosperity of the people, and the consequent increase of indirect taxation ; in the more complete control maintained over the persons employed in collecting the revenue ; in the diminished cost of collection, and in the greater certainty of punctually realizing the sum actually assessed. On the other hand, wherever there is much waste land, and the country is poorly cultivated, and the population is scanty, it causes the rapid reclamation of the waste, and the increase of the population. A valuable property is thus created, from which, in the course of time, the state may derive a largely increased amount of land revenue.”

The great principle here followed, then, is to limit the demand of Government for a certain term of years, to a sum averaging about 33 per cent below the net produce. It is, of course, clear that some one must benefit by this relinquishment of one-third of the State's proper revenue. In the Bhyacharah villages, the cultivators themselves, being considered as proprietors and having no middlemen between themselves and Government, are benefited ; and, as regards them, the arrangement is most liberal, and at the same time most judicious and politic. This enjoyment of a third of the rent enables them rapidly to accumulate capital, and brings within their reach comforts and pleasures before almost unknown. They become prosperous, the severity of pressure from unfavorable seasons becomes alleviated, the temptation to crime is vastly diminished, opportunities for improvement become more frequent and more eagerly sought after, municipal matters engage attention ; in short, the people steadily progress to a higher order of civilization. To these communities then—the Bhyacharah villages, where no middlemen intervene between the cultivator and Government—we admit the invaluable benefit likely, indeed almost certain, to accrue from this policy of the North-West settlement. But we cannot see how the body of the people in the Zemindari villages are to derive the slightest benefit from the liberal relinquishment of a portion of its dues made by Government. This handsome relin-

quishment, amounting, as it does, actually to one-ninth of the gross produce, finds its way, in most cases, (we except the estates originally sold by Government, the purchase money of which is of course entitled to interest) to the hands of a set of "proprietors" possessed of no valid title; and who, generally speaking, devote their money to the gratification of an unbounded licentiousness, or to the prosecution of useless litigation. The system of the North-West is, therefore, not calculated to add to the prosperity of the people at large; at least in the Zemeendaree villages, of which two-thirds of the province consist.

But we now proceed to describe more fully, how the actual settlement was made. Our authorities are Mr. Bird, Mr. Thomason, and Mr. Thornton. Mr. Thomason thus ably epitomises the leading characteristics of the system, which he enumerates under three distinct heads.

"First: All the inhabited part of the country is divided into portions with fixed boundaries, called *Mehals* or estates; on each *Mehal* a sum is assessed for the term of 20 or 30 years, calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit over and above the net produce of the land; and for the punctual payment of that sum, the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the Government.

"Secondly: It is determined who are the person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable; and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the *Mehal* are taken.

"Thirdly: All the proprietors of a *Mehal* are severally and jointly responsible, in their persons and property, for the payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the *Mehal*. Where there are more proprietors than one, it is determined according to what rule they shall share the profits, or make good the losses, on the estates. If the proprietors are numerous, engagements are only taken from a few of the body, who, on their own parts, and as representatives of the rest, undertake to manage the *Mehal*, and to pay the sum assessed upon it."

The settlement involved two distinct operations, equally important, and equally requiring the utmost carefulness and judgment in execution. The first is fiscal, and has for its object the determination of the Government demand on each estate. The second is judicial, and relates to the decision and registration of individual rights. The four great steps in the process are as follows:

1st.—The adjustment of Boundaries.

2nd.—The Survey.

3rd.—The Assessment.

4th.—The Record of Rights.*

Here, as in every other part of India, disputes regarding the exact limits of the boundaries of contiguous villages, are of constant occurrence; the waste lands of most villages lie at their extremities,

and consequently all traces of any original boundary have entirely disappeared, or more probably, perhaps, no actual boundaries ever existed. To mark and settle these boundaries permanently by the erection of substantial land-marks, is the first operation. The method adopted to settle these disputes is somewhat arbitrary ; but it suits the character of the people, and is as fair a one to all parties as could be devised. A Panchayet, or jury of fifteen or twenty uninterested villagers from adjacent villages, is convened by the Settlement Officer. Either party has the right of challenging objectionable jurymen, on shewing reasonable grounds for the challenge. Plaintiffs and Defendants, the Sahib and the Jury, accompanied by a posse of peons, march off to inspect the disputed land, walk over it, and after much quarrelling and talking return not much wiser on the subject than they were before ; depositions are made, documents are looked over, both sides are heard, all the pros and cons are considered, and the Panchayet finally announces its decision ; the boundary is forthwith marked off accordingly ; and the dispute is practically disposed of for ever. By the provisions of Act I of 1847, adequate punishment for the removal or destruction of boundary marks is fully ensured.

The boundaries of all the villages under process of settlement in the district having thus been permanently determined, the next step is the Survey. This comprises two processes : one scientific, the other not so ; and here, we conceive, occurs the first objectionable provision of the settlement. The scientific survey is merely a traverse round the boundary of each village, laid down on a scale of four inches to the mile ; the main interior features, as roads, rivers, hills, and the site of the villages, are also exhibited, as well as the total area in acres, obtained from the traverse ; and this, of course, as far as it goes, is unexceptionable. The next step, the unscientific survey of the interior, field by field—the preparation of the “Shujreh”—as it is called, is, we think, open to grave objections. The progress of the native Khusreh survey is thus described :—“The survey consists of a rough plan of the village called a ‘Shujreh,’ and a list of the fields called a ‘Khusreh.’ The Shujreh is on no fixed scale, but is so constructed as to enable a person at once to find in it any field of which he is in search.” (The possibility of this is, we think, more than doubtful.) “Each field, and each parcel of land represented in it, bears a number, corresponding with which is an entry in the Khusreh, showing the size of the parcel of land, the occupant, the nature of the soil, the crop growing on it, or other mode of occupation, and the rent of the field, supposing it to be under cultivation. The size of the field is given by stating the average length and breadth, and by deducing the area by multiplying the one into the other, which is the native popular method of land surveying.”

We cannot, however, coincide with the idea here expressed of either the utility or trustworthiness of the "Shujreh"; first, because although theoretically the method of survey adopted is correct, it can only be practically regarded as a means of approximation; and secondly, supposing even the Shujreh to be perfectly correct, yet it is useless for purposes of reference to the land, as the fields possess no boundary-marks, and are consequently undefined. The Khusreh, however, is the most important document connected with the settlement; and on its correctness and integrity the success of the system entirely rests. It is a register of all the fields, and a description and enumeration of all the private rights and holdings appertaining to the village; and as these holdings and rights must fluctuate and change yearly, the preparation of a corrected Khusreh becomes annually necessary. To carry out this unavoidable part of the scheme, an agency has been made by the creation of Putwaries or Village Accountants, with whom rests the responsibility of annually preparing, and lodging in the Collector's office, corrected Khusrehs for their respective villages. These Khusrehs are regarded as conclusive evidence in all cases of internal dispute, occurring either between the cultivators themselves or between the cultivators and the Zemcendars; it is, therefore, evident that any errors creeping into them, either from negligence or fraud, are of vital importance, and we are by no means sanguine that adequate measures can be adopted for their exclusion.

The third great step is the assessment—the determination of the Government demand; and the efficient performance of this portion of his duty requires a constant exercise of the settlement officer's intellectual powers. The first step is to ascertain the average amount of the Government revenue for a past series of years, both for the entire district as well as for individual villages; the condition of the cultivators, and the increase or decrease of cultivation, as evidencing in itself a light or a heavy assessment, must be taken into consideration; inquiries into the prevalent average rates of rent paid by the cultivators should be instituted; and these rates, multiplied by the total of the cultivated acres in the district, obtained from the Khusreh survey returns, will exhibit the gross rent; and two-thirds of the gross rent thus obtained, plus an excess (in the determination of which much judgment is necessary) for the arable waste, will exhibit a close approximation of the sum at which the Government demand on the district should be fixed. So far matters are tolerably easy; but the next step—the allotting to each village its fair quota of this demand—is a matter so difficult to accomplish with any reasonable hope of success, even when aided

by the best and fullest and most reliable data, that we cannot but anticipate failure, when we consider the imperfect and somewhat crude data afforded by the native Khusrch survey. There exists but one check to very unequal assessment—a check prominently advanced by Mr. Thornton, and apparently considered by him as sufficiently strong to prevent much apprehension of the existence of the evil indicated. He observes, that

“ Every proprietor has the option of declining to engage on the conditions offered him, the only penalty being his exclusion from the management for a period of 12 years. In such a case, the settlement officer must make other arrangements for the realization of the revenue, either by leasing the estate to a farmer, or by collecting the rents direct from the cultivators. But whichever of these courses be followed, he will have to provide, in addition to his original demand, for the Malikanah allowance claimable by the excluded proprietor, which, by law, must not be less than 5 per cent. on the revenue. * *

“ Very loud and general complaints have often arisen from no cause, but a systematic combination. Willing consent has, on the other hand, been given in seasons of temporary prosperity, to terms which could not be fulfilled in ordinary years. Still the powers possessed by the people at large of forcing a reconsideration of the assessment, and the obligation to pay Malikanah to recusant proprietors, are valuable checks on the proceedings, and place them in the light of a fair bargain between independent parties, rather than in that of a despotic demand on the one side, and of unavoidable compliance on the other.”

The true value of the check may thus be expressed :—Government acknowledges the proprietor as entitled to 35 per cent. of the rent ; it then offers him the farm of his own village at a certain sum, fixed more or less arbitrarily, leaving him the *option* of complying with this demand or of accepting from Government a sum varying from 5 to 10 per cent. on the collections ; and this is what Mr. Thornton calls “ a fair bargain between independent parties.” In other words, the proprietor is entitled to a sum equivalent to 50 per cent. of the revenue ; Government then offers him certain terms, or a Malikanah amounting to 5 or 10 per cent. of the revenue : that is to say, it offers him, as the alternative of not-accepting its terms, from one-tenth to one-twentieth of his just rights. Disproportionately heavy indeed must the assessment be, to induce him to accept the alternative. So much for the value of the check against the chances of excessive or unequal assessment. We fully believe that every means, of which the system admitted, were made available to ensure success in the difficult, and, at the best of times, somewhat uncertain operation of distributing an equal assessment, and we believe that a very large amount of success was attained ; but at the same time we think that the very nature of the system itself, by not striking at the root

of the matter, and by not descending sufficiently to details, precluded the possibility of ensuring universal success.

The Government demand being fixed by the settlement officer, as above described, the terms were made known to the proprietors. In nine cases out of ten they were agreed to, and the bargain received the ratification of a written and attested deed of settlement, signed both by the Collector and by the proprietors. We quote in full a translation of the deed of a village constitution in a Bhyacharah Mehal :—

“ We, Ram Buxsh, Parasram, Hindeo, &c. &c. &c. lumberdars and puttee-dars of Mouzha Ooncha in the purgunnah of Kandowlee. Now, whereas a settlement of this village has been made by the Collector at a Jumma of Rs. 1,000 for 1247 F., of Rs. 1060 for 1248 F., of Rs. 1120 for 1249 F., of Rs. 1180 for 1250 F., of Rs. 1240 for 1251 F., and of Rs. 1300 from 1252 to 1276 F., for an entire term of 30 years from 1247 to 1276 F., with us, the parties before named, we agree to abide by the following rules :—

“ 1. The Jumma of Government shall be paid according to the entry in the Khewut.

“ 2. The mode of internal collection shall be this : at the settlement the village was divided, in respect to Jumma and land, with one consent, into four thokes ; and in the same way, a subdivision of Jumma and land, in respect to each sharer's puttee, was made within each thoke. The lumberdars of each thoke will collect from the shitsimee puttedars ; every sharer enjoys the profit and bears the loss of his own puttee, and when there are co-sharers in any puttee, thereafter collecting, by an assameewar Khatah from the whole land, a division of the profits shall be made according to the relative shares of the parties. And this system shall continue till a butwara take place, and on the demand of a butwara, it shall be made in Magh, or previous thereto. The expenses thereof shall be paid by the applicant.

“ 3. If a balance arises against any sharer, some one of the other sharers, who may not be in default, shall pay the amount, and take the puttee in transfer for a term to be fixed by the Collector, but not to exceed 15 years. Three months previous to expiration of that term, if the defaulter does not repay the balance, the right and interest of the defaulter shall be foreclosed, and a sultanee by-namah shall be granted by the Collector. If more than one sharer applies to take the transfer, the Collector will give a preference as seems to him fit. If no sharer is ready to take the defaulting puttee, the whole 20 biswahs of the village shall be subject to farm or sale by auction.

“ 4. In the waste held in common, the whole body of the sharers possess the privilege of cutting wood for implements of agriculture, roofing cottages, and grazing their cattle. But the sale of the timber, and the distribution of the price thereof, is to be made with the consent of all the sharers. The butwara of the waste shall be made at the demand of the majority of the sharers, and the expense shall be borne by the village at large.

“ 5. The right to mortgage or sell shares among the members of the brotherhood, is vested in each sharer ; but no sharer shall have the right to mortgage or sell his share to a stranger out of the village, except with the consent of all the sharers, or after first getting a butwara Mehalwar.

“ 6. The fixed sum of 10 per cent. on the Jumma shall be paid to the lumberdars for all expenses, except the police and putwarree dues. With the excess, or saving, on this sum the sharers have no concern. The fines from the

Magistrate's Court shall be paid proportionably, according to the extent of each sharer's possession; but if the fine is a personal one, the party on whom the penalty is inflicted shall discharge it.

"7. When a lumberdar may be removed from death, resignation, or exclusion by the Collector, the majority shall elect his successor from his heirs, or the other sharers. No lumberdar shall be removed after appointment, except with the approval of the Collector.

"8. Deojeet is the village putwaree. He shall receive Rs. 2 per cent. on the Jumma. On a vacancy, the majority of the sharers shall elect a successor from the heirs of the late incumbent, if any one be deemed fit; and, otherwise, from other qualified applicants. The removal of the putwaree shall only take place with the approval of the Collector.

"9. For the support of two Chowkeedars, 12 acres of land, left lakheraj by the Collector, have been assigned from 1247 F.

"10. There is no bullahar in the village.

"11. From 1247 F. 1 per cent. above the Government jumma for a road fund shall be paid by us to Government, on the condition that the amount shall be expended within the Agra Zillah."

The fourth and final operation in the settlement is the determination and registration of every existing right, or holding, or tenure connected with the land. The importance in which this portion of the settlement is held, becomes apparent from the excessively minute and elaborate directions issued on the subject for the guidance of the officers engaged in its performance. Every dispute arising subsequent to the completion of the settlement depends, for its satisfactory adjustment, on the accuracy of the records first prepared. The first paper is the Khusreh, which we have already described as a seriatim list of all the fields, including a description of the soils of each, and showing the names of the present cultivators, the tenures of their holdings, and the amount of rent payable to the proprietor. The Kutconnee or Muntukhub is prepared from the Khusreh,—in fact, is nothing more than the Khusreh in a corrected, amplified, and attested form. Annually to correct (as of course becomes necessary from the constant mutations and modifications taking place in the village) and to deposit for reference in the Collector's Cutcherry these Muntukhuls, is, as we have previously explained, the duty of the Putwarees.

For the adjudication of all disputes relating to the land, Civil Courts have been established in each district. The efficiency of these Courts is ensured by investing them with powers equally large and summary. They entertain suits against the proprietors for raising rents, or against the cultivators for defalcation; they afford the ready means for effecting sales or transfers of shares;—in fact their jurisdiction extends to every suit and every case in which land, or landed interest, is concerned. Many of the best revenue officers in the Provinces, however, look with much displeasure on these

Courts ; as, through their instrumentality, the integrity of the perfect village communities—the Bhyacharah tenure—is being rapidly destroyed, inasmuch as the Courts facilitate the sale and transfer of shares to strangers ; and we certainly agree with this view of the case so far, that we are persuaded the only way in which satisfactory results can be expected from the working of the joint responsibility system, is by preserving the original form of combination intact ; and the introduction of strangers must at once produce heart-burnings, and jealousies and oppressions, even supposing they did not exist previously. The necessity that has arisen for instituting these Civil Courts furnishes, we think, a strong argument against the system of joint responsibility, to carry out the provisions of which they have principally been established. It just amounts to this, that these Civil Courts, in their necessary operations, lay the axe against the root of the very tree for the support of which they have been called into existence. The inevitable consequence is, that in the course of a few years the village communities in their original integrity must cease to exist ; in which case the present evils of the system of joint responsibility will necessarily be much enhanced.

We have thus endeavoured to sketch briefly and rapidly the leading features, and to exhibit the most prominent tendencies, of the system of settlement adopted in the North-Western Provinces. The advocates and supporters of the system consider that the results already obtained are highly satisfactory ; and we must willingly admit that the country has undoubtedly made large advances in prosperity, and that, all things considered, the people at large are as well circumstanced at least as the cultivators in any other part of India ; though we believe they are indebted for the enjoyment of their advantages more to the sufficiency of their population, the fertility of their soil, the facilities for irrigation afforded them, and the superiority of their climate, than to the system of their revenue management.

Large towns and vast military encampments are dotted over the Provinces ; broad metalled roads traverse the country in every direction ; its Western plains are intersected by a net-work of ample canals ; its surplus produce flows with celerity to profitable marts, along the magnificent water highways of the Ganges and the Jumna ; and its people by nature are enterprising, high-spirited, intelligent, and industrious ;—difficult indeed would it be for a country thus favorably circumstanced to be otherwise than prosperous, contented, and happy. Whether this state of prosperity be the result of the system of revenue management there introduced, or whether the success of that system be attributable to the extraordinarily favora-

ble condition of the materials it operated upon, is at least an open question. We believe that any attempt to introduce the system to the Bombay Presidency would have proved an utter failure. The Bhagdar system (a close approximation to the Bhyacharah tenure of the North-West), obtaining in part of Guzerat, is found to be far from satisfactory in its working; and in the Khote system of Patnagheri (closely resembling the district Zemecndaree tenure) the cultivators have been reduced to a condition of abject poverty and wretchedness and want, which we cannot think explained away by the mere fact of a teeming population.

We now proceed to the Bombay system of revenue management—the Ryotwari, perfected by the operations of the Revenue Survey and Assessment now in progress throughout the Presidency, originated by the late Chief Secretary to Government, Mr. Goldsmid, and his able and intelligent coadjutor, then Lieutenant now Major Wingate, of the Bombay Engineers. We cannot do better here than to quote a short but feeling notice, which appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* recently, from the pen of a personal friend of the late much lamented Mr. Goldsmid:—

“There had of course been many revenue surveys before his time, and the assessment of the Deccan was nominally regulated by one of them, ordered by Mr. Elphinstone and executed by Mr. Pringle, whose name it bore. I need not dwell on the causes why the great amount of talent and labor, bestowed on it by one of the most accomplished and conscientious men our service could ever boast of, failed to provide a light and fair assessment. The rates on the inferior lands were far too high, while those on the better classes of soil were disproportionately low. Taken as a whole, it was found impossible to levy the assessment according to this survey without heavy annual remissions. These entailed much fraud and great oppression on the cultivator. In 1834-5, soon after Mr. Goldsmid's appointment its assistant to Mr. Williamson the Revenue Commissioner, he was instrumental in discovering a terrible instance of such oppression, which had been committed in the Judapoor district of the Poonah Zillah. His enquiries showed the district to be in such a lamentable state that Mr. Williamson got him placed in temporary charge of it, hoping that his assistant's energy and personal supervision would not only correct what was wrong in the ordinary current management, but furnish materials for laying down a better system for the future.”

“He was allowed to carry out his views, and the results are thus graphically expressed:—

“How the officers employed succeeded can be known to few, who did not know the districts in their former state. They are for the most part barren, and not much favored by nature. Nor will those who now see them for the first time readily recognise the great improvement which has taken place. Yet something may be learned, if they will ask the old and middle-aged how they fared and how matters were managed before Goldsmid and Wingate Sahib's time—before the ‘Paishwaish’ assessment was fixed—and how they fare now. And should they chance to hear, as I have heard, ten years after

the Sahibs had left the place, the same names introduced into the doggerel lay which the Mahratta housewife chants to lighten her daily task of grinding grain, they would confess that there is such a thing as native gratitude; and that Goldsmid and Wingate had gained the highest honours which a simple and uneducated race could pay to their benefactors."

But, alas! Mr. Goldsmid did not live long enough to see the final accomplishment of his great scheme; and he might but view, through the long vista of the future, the inestimable benefits to be conferred on the people at large by a system bearing, at every point, the impress of his keen and comprehensive intellect. The object and principles of this system may shortly be described. Government is considered as universal landlord, and no middlemen are permitted between it and the actual cultivators. The lands of each village are divided into separate fields of various sizes, depending on the nature of the soil; including about as much land as can be cultivated by the assistance of one pair of bullocks, and averaging, we imagine, about 15 acres. The boundaries of these fields are marked permanently, by the erection, at every considerable bend, of earthen mounds of an elongated triangular form, six cubits in length, three in breadth, and two in height. The fields are measured by well-instructed native measurers, with the cross-staff and chain. A few main lines are fixed by the theodolite, and a most accurate map of the lands of the village, exhibiting each field distinctly, is obtained. Again, field by field, the land is examined and classified. After much careful consideration, rates per acre for the various classes of soil are proposed for the approval of Government. The yearly rent payable by each field is then calculated, and entered in a register, together with the names of present cultivators. The rates are fixed for 30 years; and so long as a cultivator pays his rent he may do what he likes with his fields, and he derives the benefit of any improvements he may make on the land for the term of 30 years, during which time the amount of rent cannot be raised; on the other hand, he may at any time throw up one or more of his fields, but he cannot subsequently reclaim them, should they have been taken up by any one else. These are the main and broad features of the system, which we now proceed to describe more minutely.

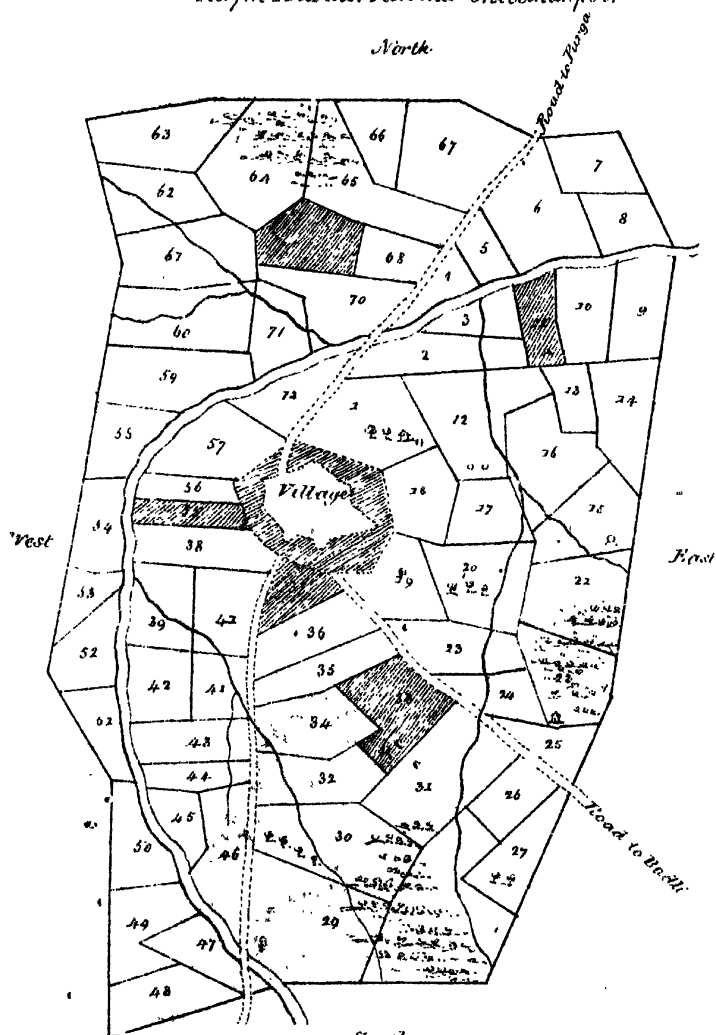
The operations are threefold: first, the Survey; secondly, the Classification; and thirdly, the Assessment;—each equally important, and the integrity of the whole depending, of course, on the perfect integrity of all three. First, the Survey: The operations of each Collectorate are confided to a Superintendent, and usually about six Assistant Superintendents, four of whom are over the

establishments for measuring, and two for classing. Each establishment consists of about 20 well-instructed native surveyors; their pay averages from 15 to 25 rupees per month. Each of them is accompanied by a Jemadar, or boundary-mark peon, whose sole duty is to superintend the erection of the boundary-marks. About the commencement or middle of November, the several Assistant Superintendents, accompanied by their establishments, proceed to their respective districts for the season. The Mamlutdar (the Bengal Tehsildar) is consulted, and a list of villages is made out in which operations may be most conveniently commenced, and a native measurer is appointed to each. Having seen that all his implements, his mapping-paper, blank books, cross-staff, chain, flags, &c. &c. are in working order and correct, he starts for his village, and having arrived at the village chowrie, he forthwith assembles the patels, koolkurnee, and other inhabitants, to whom he explains the object of his visit, and reads to them a proclamation setting forth the objects of the survey—"the Premash"—and also cautioning them from offering him either obstructions or bribes; we suspect the latter part of the proclamation is not always read in the most audible voice. The document is then signed by all present, and forwarded to the office of the Assistant Superintendent; another copy of it is posted on the chowrie walls; and on the following morning the measurer is ready to commence his labours. He must be accompanied to the field by the patel, the koolkurnee, and as many of the more respectable inhabitants as possible. The village carpenter carries his cross-staff, the village goldsmith holds his inkstand, the mahars drag the chain, the cultivators generally take the flags; on one side stands the patel, superintending the whole operation, and wondering what it all means; and on the other the koolkurnee, with his village book—his "jungle khurdeh"—open, readily supplies all the information required by the measurer. He generally commences with the land immediately in front of the north gate of the village, continues his operations to the northern boundary, and then works on continuously from left to right like the hands of a watch, until all the land is measured. He usually accomplishes forty acres daily, which he is expected to plot out on the map, on returning to the chowrie after the completion of his morning's work. The boundaries of the fields are fixed by the measurer more or less arbitrarily in all lands which are neither mecrassee nor alienated; he, however, follows as closely as possible any old boundaries that may exist. The boundary-marks are erected by paid laborers, at the rate of eight for the rupee; large numbers of vuddars and cumnattics from the Carnatic are employed on the

Bombay Revenue Survey. - Village Map. - 1855.

Mouzha Rakshuswadi
Ticoph Hwadi, Talooka Shicethanpoor

North



Enam { *31 Putelo Enam.* *55 Mahan's Hudola.*
33 { *37 Mahan's Hudke.* *69 Bheto Enam.*

work, and being professional diggers, they work very rapidly, and many of them earn as much as eight annas per day ; but generally they are incorrigible thieves ; their wives and donkeys prowling about constantly at night, plundering the crops of jowari and toor ; when remonstrated with, they make a thousand vehement promises of amendment, only to be broken as soon as the shades of evening set in. The measurer forwards a daily report of his proceedings, stating the amount and nature of his work, to the office of the Assistant Superintendent. The records prepared by the measurer are four in number : the rough field-book, the fair survey-book, the boundary-mark book, and the map of the village ; of these, the fair survey-book, and the map, are by far the most important. On the left page of the survey-book are entered the names of the parties present at the time of measurement, the number of the field, its description from the koolkurnee's jungle-khurdehs, the nature of its soil, its peculiar tenure, the name of the present cultivator, and finally the field itself accurately laid down by scale ; the page on the right side of the book contains the particulars of the measurement as regards lengths of base lines and perpendiculars, a statement of any unculturable land contained within its limits, and lastly the contents of the field stated in acres and guntas. The map corresponds, of course, exactly with the field book, only showing all the fields of the village at a glance. To insure accuracy, a portion of the work, usually from 5 to 10 per cent., is redone by the Assistant Superintendent, and the result is almost invariably satisfactory ; the average amount of error rarely exceeds one per cent. During the ensuing rains, when field operations are necessarily suspended, the field-book and map are subjected to a careful examination ; all errors are rectified, and a fair copy of the map is made on cloth-mounted paper. During the course of the measurements, all boundary disputes that present themselves should be settled by the Assistant Superintendent himself, if he finds that a Panchayet under the direction of the Mamlutdar, as " Sur-punch," is unable to do it satisfactorily. Hundreds of these disputes have been disposed of in the Dekhan, and their settlement is a blessing to the people and a gain to Government. They frequently are very extensive and of long standing ; we have ourselves seen one in which the papers produced were at least three hundred years old. As long as a dispute exists, the land must lie fallow ; the mere fact of being able to prove cultivation is always considered as nine-tenths of the required proof to establish possession. The mode of procedure is, first, carefully to survey and map the disputed portion ; and to be enabled to determine the exact limits of the dispute, it is necessary to start from some point regarding which no dispute exists, and then to follow and lay down a line in accordance with the show-

ing of either party. They frequently point out their boundary as extending up to, and running along, the very village wall of their opponents, if no cultivated land should happen to intervene, present cultivation being always considered as a perfect bar to the admission of any adverse claim.

The survey having been completed, the disputants are assembled. The advisability of arriving at some satisfactory and permanent settlement of their long-standing and unprofitable dispute, the wisdom of enjoying even four annas rather than allowing the entire rupee to remain useless at the bottom of the well, is pointed out; the fact of the Sahib having neither interest nor bias either way is dwelt upon, and finally, a written agreement is taken from both parties, stating their willingness to abide by any decision that may be arrived at after a full consideration of the evidence on either side. The appointed day for hearing the case has arrived, and a large and motley crowd assembles round the office tent. The sturdy, and for the most part independent, and we believe, honest-hearted Mahratta patel, and the keen-eyed, sharp-featured, cunning Brahman koolkurnee, with his carefully-preserved bundle of old village papers, seat themselves within the tent, and the investigation commences. Paper after paper is examined, and its contents, bearing more or less on the question, are carefully noted down; strange-looking little notes, bearing the Peishwa's "*moretubsood*" to the Deshmookh or Subadhar of the district, or from the Jemadar, or Shoheddar, to the patel, are all produced, and urged as irrefragable proofs. Occasionally for a moment the proceedings are interrupted by loud disputes between the patels, or by a more delicate and keen-witted fence between the koolkurnees, the nonplussed party invariably having the last word, by observing to their angry opponents, "We have nothing to do with you, our case is in the hands of the Sirkar, who knows everything." The evidence adduced is always very conflicting; but the attempt is invariably made to prove one of three things:—First, the settlement of the dispute years ago in their favor, and the probability is that both parties have papers of this nature, obtained at different times by bribery; Second, the cultivation in past time of some portion of the disputed land by people of their own village; Third, by the evidence of adjacent villages as to the existence of a Tunedah or Chowgundah, (a meeting point of the boundaries of three or four villages,) in some position favorable to their claim. But failing all direct evidence, the best guides to a satisfactory adjustment of the dispute are the natural features of the country; a range of hills, a large nullah, or a conveniently situated ravine. Every consideration should be given to the subject before announcing the decision arrived at; but noth-

ing should allow the decision to be altered when once announced. The new boundary should at once be permanently marked off by sinking large stones at all the bends. Act III. of 1846 provides for their preservation and protection. At first, of course, both parties object to the decision, hold up their hands, and go off into paroxysms of discontent: "The Sirkar may do as it likes; if it takes away all their lands, they are helpless and must submit; there is no help for that they know; but they never will, even if death be the alternative, give their consent to *this* decision; the very shades of their ancestors would rise and upbraid them, if they thus threw away the lands which had belonged to their village from time immemorial, and to defend which their forefathers had lavished their blood and their money." All this of course is sheer nonsense; the trick has been tried too often to have the slightest chance of success; and after permitting them thoroughly to exhaust themselves, a little firmness and expostulation seldom fail to elicit, in the end, a satisfactory "razee-nama" from both sides; and they retire, feeling well satisfied that the long-existing causes of contention with their neighbours have passed away, and perfectly assured that neither prejudice nor favor has been displayed towards either side.

The accounts, measurements, and mapping of the lands of each village having been accomplished, and all boundary disputes adjusted and disposed of, the classification is the next step to be undertaken. The maps and survey-books are handed over to the classifying establishment; each field is separately examined and classed according to the capabilities of its soil. The soils are all ranged under three heads:—1st, a fine uniform texture, varying in color from a dark brown to a deep black; 2nd, of uniform but coarse texture, lighter in color and generally red; and 3rd, of coarse gravelly or friable texture, and colors varying from light brown to grey. These classes are each liable to several defects, apart from a want of depth. Altogether, a field may fall into one of nine classes, falling below which, the field would be considered unculturable.

The mode of procedure is, to draw a rough plan of the field to be classified, and to divide it into a number of compartments, generally one to each acre, or half acre; the soil of each compartment is examined and noted down, and a crowbar is sunk to ascertain the depth. The general nature of the soil, and its depth, place the compartment in one of the three great classes first mentioned, and every defect then noticed lowers it one class. The average class of the field is then ascertained by adding together the classes of all the compartments, and dividing that total by the number of the compartments.

Let us suppose a field divided into eight compartments, and the general nature of the soil of each, the depth and the defects, having •

placed those compartments in certain classes, the result might be thus expressed :—

No. of classes.	No. of compartments of each class.	Comparative value of the compartments, in annas.
1	1	16
3	1	12
4	2	20
6	1	6
7	1	4½
8	2	6
	<hr/> 8	<hr/> 64½

$$\frac{64\frac{1}{2}}{8} = 8\frac{1}{16} = \text{average value of the field.}$$

And as 16 annas are supposed to represent the maximum average value of a field, the proportional values of all the fields are easily obtained by this process. Now supposing the field in question to contain 20 acres, and that the maximum rent rate sanctioned by Government is Rs. 2 per acre, it follows that the actual money demand on the field will be $\frac{20 \times 8\frac{1}{16}}{2} \times 2$, or exactly Rs. 20-2as-6p.

The integrity and correctness of the classification is insured by a per-centage of the work being redone by the Assistant Superintendent in charge of the establishment.

The classification of garden or irrigated land is a somewhat more complicated operation ; but with ordinary care may be, and generally is, accomplished with almost equal certainty. It naturally divides itself into two parts : 1st, the intrinsic value of the soil, apart from the water ; and 2nd, the extrinsic value conferred by the water. The extra cess for water is levied equally on land irrigated by wells or from bundarahs. We think this principle, however, both unjust and impolitic ; in nineteen cases out of twenty the fields irrigated by wells have been cultivated by the same family from a period long anterior to our rule ; and the probability, nay, almost certainty, is that the wells were made by the immediate ancestors of the present occupants ; they should therefore be considered in the light of private capital, invested for the improvement of the land ; and the interest of capital so invested ought never to be absorbed or encroached upon by Government. Bundarahs, on the other hand, are works of an extensive nature and of public utility, far too costly for private enterprise, and consequently are invariably constructed by Government, in its capacity of landlord—works un-

undertaken solely for the improvement of its estate, and therefore reasonably looked to for the return of a fair interest on the capital invested. Under any circumstances, mothurthul or well irrigation can never compete on equal terms with pathurthul or bundarraha irrigation, as the former has to support a heavy tax for the power requisite to work it.

The mothurthul revenue derived by Government is, comparatively speaking, very insignificant. We think it would be an admirable expedient, both as regards liberality and justice, to forego it. The improvement of the country by the construction of new wells, and the consequently increased prosperity of the people, would be the immediate result; the prospective result would be the enhanced revenue that would accrue to Government, after the expiration of the present term of 30 years. It is true that Government have determined and have especially ordered, that no extra cess shall be levied from any wells that may be constructed subsequent to the introduction of the new settlement; but to make the measure thoroughly effective, it should have a retrospective provision; the certainty and stability of the advantage would then be brought more fully and practically before the people, and many a family would devote a surplus couple of hundred rupees to the construction of a well, instead of squandering it upon the puerile and useless ceremonies of a marriage feast, with the concomitant and indecent exhibition of a village nautch.

The determination, measurement, and classification according to its relative value of every field, having been accomplished, the last and most important step remains to be taken—the fixing of a maximum rate of assessment per acre for each village. As the rates for the entire district or Talooka are taken into consideration at one time, it is found necessary to class the villages into three or four groups, and to settle a maximum rate for each class. The necessity for the various classes arises from the unequal advantage enjoyed by different villages. The chief points to be considered are:—climate, as affecting the fertility of the soil; the condition of agricultural skill, as affecting the gross produce, and consequently the amount of rent; and thirdly, the distance of markets, as affecting the net value of the produce. At starting, two great and broad principles should be borne in mind: firstly, that it is generally admitted by those best acquainted with the subject, that Government, up to the present time, has taken the full rent of the land; that, in fact, no portion whatever of the net produce has been left with the cultivators; this we think is quite borne out by the necessity which has existed for granting large remissions in every partially unfavorable year; and secondly, that a leading object of the new survey and assessment is to leave to the

cultivator a portion of the rent, about 25 per cent. of it, partly with a view to enable him to accumulate capital and extend his cultivation, and partly as a compensation for abolishing the unsatisfactory system of remissions.

As the bega is a variable quantity, it is necessary to determine for each district the relative proportion it bears to an English standard acre, all past accounts having been kept in begas; generally speaking a bega is equal to about three-quarters of an acre.

From the revenue accounts of the districts detailed figured statements are prepared, showing the annual cultivation in begas, the assessment or Government demand, and the remissions for the past twenty years or more of each village. The aggregate of these shows the gross cultivation, the gross assessment, and the gross remissions, and finally the net collections of the whole district for each year. A comparison of the average cultivation and the average collections will, of course, exhibit the average pressure on the land per acre of the assessment, in past years. Now, bearing in mind our first proposition, that Government has hitherto levied its full rent, it follows that this average pressure expresses exactly the average true rent per acre of past cultivation. If then the object be to leave the cultivator 25 per cent. of the rent, the average pressure must be reduced one-fourth.

We have now obtained the average rates per acre to be placed on the cultivation by the new assessment; it only remains therefore to fix such a maximum rate on the first class, that the result of the average of all the classes shall amount to the sum we have already fixed it at, about 25 per cent. below the average of the old assessment. To simplify the matter, suppose we have to deal with only four classes, and say sixty-six acres distributed over these four classes, thus:—

Classes.....	1st.	2nd.	3rd.	4th.
Acres.....	6	18	25	17

Then suppose that our average rate is to be Rs. per acre, we wish to make the difference of one rupee between each class: the aggregate revenue to be derived from the 66 acres will amount to Rs. 198; and a very simple calculation will show that the maximum, or rate for the 1st class, must be Rs. 4-12-10 per acre; and the rates for the remaining classes will of course be proportionably lower. Applying the rates thus obtained to all the arable land in the district, according to its relative value as determined by the classification, we arrive at two points of considerable importance: first, the average pressure per acre on all the cultivable land; and secondly, the gross revenue

derivable from the district under the new settlement. Everything having been reduced to a clear and tangible form, and all discrepancies and variations satisfactorily accounted for, the proposals are finally submitted to Government for sanction, and if approved of, they are applied at once to the operations of the ensuing *Junma-bundy*.

It will be seen at once that a vast deal depends on the judgment and intelligence of the settling officer ; for although he may safely take it for granted that the Government revenue of past years on the entire Zillah has amounted to the full rent on the cultivation, yet he must be prepared to find in different districts of that Zillah the most unequally distributed assessment. Let us take, for instance, the Collectorate of Khandesh, now under process of survey. The gross revenue is about Rs. 2,000,000, and the acres under cultivation are about 1,200,000; the average produce of an acre may, we think, fairly be estimated at Rs. 6, and consequently, the Government demand hitherto has amounted to about 28 per cent. on the produce—by no means an exorbitant rent. But the distribution of this rent is in many cases most unequal. The Sultanpore Talooka, possessing certainly a fine black soil,—unfit however from certain saline qualities for the production of cotton,—bears a maximum rate of Rs. 3-8, and an average rate of Rs. 2-9 per acre, although unprovided with a practicable road as an outlet for its production, and placed 50 miles at least from the nearest large market. On the other hand, the Dhoolia Talooka, bisected by the Agra and Bombay road, and possessing the best market in Khandesh, pays a maximum rate of only Rs. 1-15, and an average rate of only 14 annas per acre. The differences of soil are we admit great, but not sufficiently great to account satisfactorily for so large a discrepancy. To level all such inequalities is of course a prominent object, never to be lost sight of in considering proposals for the new rates.

Registers are now prepared, closely resembling the *Khursreh* of the North-West ; exhibiting the number of the fields, agreeing of course with those in the map, the area of each in acres, the nature of the tenure, whether rent-free, *mecrassee*, or Government, the name of the present cultivator, and finally the amount of rent payable on it. Three copies at least of each register and map should be made : one for the Collector's office, one for the *Mamlutdar*, and one for the *Koolkurnee* of the village. As the maps are generally lithographed, usually a hundred copies are struck off and kept to supply future demands. The village maps are then put together on a very reduced scale, and thus form most accurate and beautifully-executed Talooka maps. These again, put together, form district maps, valuable alike for revenue or topographical purposes, if connected, as they easily

may be, by two or three points laid down by the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

It is impossible to conceive anything more perfect for purposes of general reference than the Survey records when complete. The position, the quality and the value of every square yard of soil in the district, are most accurately determined and laid down; a census is also carefully taken; the number of wells, bundarahs, carts, cattle, ploughs, markets—every piece of information in fact however minute is ascertained, and may be learnt at a glance from the compendious registers prepared. At the same time, to show the wonderful celerity with which these operations are carried on, it is only necessary to state that each establishment on the average gets over from 50,000 to 100,000 acres of ground in the course of a single season.

This, then, is the system of revenue survey and assessment now in progress throughout the Bombay Presidency. The benefits and advantages accruing from it both to Government and the people are almost incalculable. Three objects, each of vast importance, and the combined attainment of which has constituted the grand problem urgently requiring solution since our first establishment in the country, have been unquestionably gained: first, the general prosperity of the people; second, the extension of cultivation, ensuring the rapid development of the natural resources of the country; and third, the permanent enhancement and certainty of the Government revenue. We feel persuaded that no other system could have accomplished this. The North-West system obtained the two first by sacrificing a large portion of the third, at least for the next 30 years; with us, the two first are obtained at once, and the attainment of the third is never delayed, as far as our experiences go at present. Beyond the fourth or fifth year, every cultivator is free and independent; he stands or falls by himself; his fate is entirely in his own hands, depends entirely upon his own industry, his own skill, and his own forethought; he is unshackled and unfettered by either the indolence or roguery of his neighbours, and he is permitted by a wise and paternal Government to enjoy a portion of the rent of the land he holds, instead of seeing it pass into the hands of rapacious and indolent Zemendars, who sit like vultures, fattening on the very vitals of the land. Every cultivator practically holds a lease of his land for 30 years—for a longer term than which the Crown land of England itself cannot be held; during this term the land is absolutely his own: he may improve it and enjoy the benefit of his improvement; he may let it lie fallow, he may sell it, he may let it, he may indeed almost do more with it than may be done with copyhold in England; he may actually at any time, determinable by himself, dispense with any portion of his bargain; he may

throw the whole of it, or a part of it, and any part of it he pleases, back on the hands of Government. Let the wisdom of conceding this boon not be undervalued : a native will almost always cultivate as much land as the extent of his means will permit, if he can obtain that land on anything like liberal terms ; and so far from at once contracting his operations, as the inevitable result of an unfavorable season, he will never diminish it by a single acre, if his credit with the village buniah is sufficiently good to prevent his doing so ; and for this timely assistance he is always willing to pay well, and will at once hypothecate his crops as collateral security. The loss of his cattle, his invaluable allies in the field, without whom, indeed, he can do nothing, is the only misfortune that compels him to throw up a field.

In the districts where the revenue survey operations have been completed, the benefits arising from the system are most prominently observable. Thousands of acres of waste land are yearly brought under cultivation ; balances, or remissions of revenue, are utterly unknown ; prices even have not fallen, owing to the vast external demand—a demand so large as not to be sensibly affected by the largely-increased supply ; wealth is accumulating ; prosperity is the order of the day ; want is unknown.

And yet this is but the beginning of the end. The day of India's prosperity and regeneration has dawned, but the early mists of oppression and wrong still remain to be completely dispersed ; the light of education has still to break through the thick masses of accumulated prejudice and ignorance ; and the happy influences of manly, of honest, ay, of English principle, have still to be disseminated amongst all classes of the people.

ART V.—THE ANNALS OF NATIVE EDUCATION

1. *Reports of the Board of Education, Bombay, from 1841 to 1854.*
2. *Appendix to the Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on affairs of the East India Company, Public. 1832.*
3. *Sixth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories. 1853.*
4. *Reports of the General Committee of Public Instruction, Bengal*
5. *Trevelyan on Education in India. 1838.*
6. *Adams's Reports on the state of Education in Bengal and Behar 1838.*
7. *Cameron's (C. H.) Address to Parliament. 1853.*
8. *Copy of a Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, dated July 19, 1854.*

THE recent despatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and the measures for establishing Universities, which are under consideration in consequence of its receipt, render the present a suitable time to place on record, in a condensed and comprehensive form, the steps hitherto taken for the promotion of education in this Presidency. Not but that information on this subject has already been recorded; only it is so scattered through pamphlets and ephemeral productions, as not to be generally available. The object we have in contemplation is, to collect and arrange what has been written, to place before our readers the important changes that have from time to time been effected, and to note their bearing upon the progress of our educational establishments. It is no part of our plan to enter into lengthened disquisitions in regard to the various subjects upon which differences of opinion have been entertained, although we shall not withhold the expression of our sentiments as opportunities may occur.

The progress of education in the Presidency of Bombay is more particularly the aim and scope of the present article, but we shall extend our remarks to the other Presidencies whenever it may seem requisite for the sake of illustration and perspicuity.

We would in the first place request our readers to keep in mind

the following facts and dates, which may be considered as epochs in the history of the subject :—

1. The establishment of Colleges for the cultivation of Oriental learning in Bengal, by Warren Hastings and Jonathan Duncan respectively, in the years 1781 and 1791.
2. The record of a minute by Lord Minto in the year 1811.
3. The establishment of the School and School-book Societies at Calcutta and Bombay in 1817 and 1821.
4. The foundation of the Anglo-Indian College at Calcutta in 1815.
5. The appointment of a General Committee of Public Instruction at Bengal in 1823.
6. The establishment of Schools by the Missionaries, for instruction in the higher branches of knowledge.
7. The publication of Lord William Bentinck's educational order in 1835.
8. The foundation of the Elphinstone College in Bombay in 1835.
9. The appointment of the Board of Education in Bombay in 1840.

The maintenance of schools in India from a very early period devolved upon the Company's chaplains, who occasionally received special allowances for the performance of this duty. In the year 1752, two additional chaplains were appointed for Tellicherry and Anjengo, "that the rising generation might be instructed in the Protestant religion." In the same year, the Honorable Court of Directors recommended to the Bombay Government "the setting up and establishing of charity schools, wherein the children of soldiers, mariners, topasses, and others, might be educated, as well at the subordinates as at Bombay," and into these schools it was ruled by a subsequent order that "bastards, and the children of slaves on one side, should be admitted, provided the other children would mix with them."

The old Calcutta charity school is likewise a very ancient establishment, supported by voluntary contributions from the year 1747; but its funds were very considerably augmented from the "restitution money received for pulling down the English Church by the Moors, at the capture of Calcutta in 1756." From a very remote period, also, the Protestant mission in the Madras Presidency, conducted successively by Messrs. Zeigenbald, Gerické, Kiernander, and Swartz, founded schools at several of their stations, in which they instructed natives.

Little, however, appears to have been done by Government until the establishment (at the request of several Mahomedans of distinc-

tion) by Warren Hastings of the Calcutta Madrisa, or Mahomedan College, in the year 1781, and of the Benares, or Hindoo College, by Jonathan Duncan ten years later.

The objects contemplated, however, in the foundation of these institutions, were scarcely "educational" in the modern acceptation of that term, as their design was merely to attach the people to the British Government, to provide for the State a class of servants versed in Mahomedan law, and to "preserve and cultivate the laws, literature, and religion of the Hindoos."

The Poona College,* projected by Mr. Chaplin in the year 1821, seems to have had in view somewhat similar objects. As might have been anticipated, little good, and perhaps some evil, resulted from these institutions, notwithstanding the many attempts that were made to remodel and improve them.

In the year 1824 they attracted the attention of the Court of Directors, who communicated to the Bengal Government, in very characteristic terms, the opinion entertained of their utility.

"We have from time to time," say the Court, "been assured, that these Colleges, though they had not till then been useful, were, in consequence of proposed arrangements, just about to become so; and we have received from you a similar prediction on the present occasion. We are by no means sanguine in our expectations that the slight reforms which you have proposed to introduce will be followed by much improvement; and we agree with you in certain doubts whether a greater degree of activity, even if it were produced, would, in present circumstances, be attended with the most desirable results.

* * * * *

"But we apprehend that the plan of the institution, to the improvement of which our attention is now directed, was fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos and Mahomedans, Hindoo *media*, or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed, and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted, while everything which was useful, in Mahomedan or Hindoo literature, it would have been proper to retain. In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely

* The origin of the Poona College was as follows:—In the year 1819, Mr. Elphinstone, in his report of the territories conquered from the Peishwa, stated that in the Peishwa's time an annual distribution of charity, called the "Dhuk-sua," took place, which cost five lacs of rupees. The original object of this charity was to give prizes to learned Brahmans, but it had degenerated into a mere giving of alms. Mr. Elphinstone recommended that this practice should be abolished; but he proposed to restore what appeared to be the original object of the "Dhuk-sua." The subject was referred to Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, who projected the Poona College, which was sanctioned by Government in the year 1821.

mischievous, and a small remainder, indeed, in which utility was in any way concerned.”*

Beyond the establishment of these two Colleges, nothing more seems to have been attempted by Government until the time of Lord Minto, when the state of education amongst the natives was ably reviewed by him, in a minute dated 6th March 1811.

The period of Lord Minto's rule is, indeed, regarded by many as the dawn of Government education in India, and to him has been, apparently with justice, ascribed the merit of being the first to propose the interposition of the State in promoting the revival of letters, and the spread of education amongst the people subject to the English Government. In the minute above referred to he very graphically depicts the state of science and literature at that period. “The number of the learned,” he says, “is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even amongst those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people.”†

This state of matters, he thought, was attributable to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to “the study of literature by the native princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native Government,” an opinion which was also entertained by Mr. Elphinstone. But although Lord Minto inculcated more liberal and comprehensive views upon the subject of education, the measures proposed and adopted by his Government do not appear to have materially hastened its progress. Those measures were, indeed, confined to certain reforms in the Colleges then existing, and to the recommendation that similar institutions should be established at Nuddea and Bhom, in the district of Tirhoot, a recommendation, however, which was not carried into effect.

Between the years 1812 and 1820, more direct attempts were made to impart European science in both the English and Oriental languages. For this purpose a College was founded at Calcutta, chiefly through the instrumentality of some opulent natives, which, under the fostering hand of Government, soon rose into considerable

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee of House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company—Public, vol. i. p. 438.

† From the year 1815, in the Bombay Presidency, complaints of the declining state of learning seem to have been frequently made. In the year 1821 the Sudder Adawlut reported to Government that the crisis long looked for had arrived; it was hardly possible to procure a Mahomedan law-officer sufficiently qualified to perform the duties required of him, and no prospect was entertained of being able to fill up vacancies that might occur in the several Courts.

celebrity, and which is now perhaps the most flourishing institution in India.*

But it was not, we believe, until the year 1823 that Government adopted any fixed scheme for the promotion of education. Assistance had before this period been afforded to several scholastic institutions, but not under any comprehensive or clearly-defined system of organisation. It was in this year that the grant of one lac of rupees out of the surplus revenue, provided for by Act of Parliament in 1813, was first specifically applied to the purpose of educating the natives.

So early as the year 1718, a school was established in Bombay by public subscription, to which a Mrs. Eleanor Boyd, in the year 1767, bequeathed six thousand rupees. There seems, however, to have been some doubt whether this good lady was really a widow, and in consequence legal obstacles were offered to the appropriation of the legacy. It was vested in the Company's Funds, and remained unappropriated so late as the year 1824, and it does not appear certain whether it was ever applied to the purpose for which it was bequeathed. The Company, however, contributed liberally towards the support of this school, but to what extent has not been precisely ascertained.

In the year 1814, schools were established by the American Missionaries in Bombay and its vicinity, which in 1824 numbered 24, and were attended by 1,454 children, who were instructed in the Mahratta language. There was also a female school, attended by 54 children.

On the 20th January 1815, a meeting was held of the inhabitants of Bombay in the vestry of the Cathedral, which led to the formation of a "Society for promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay." The Society subsequently took the designation of "The Bombay Education Society," which it still retains, and it must be familiar to our readers from its able management of the Byculla Schools, with which the schools endowed by Mrs. Boyd's legacy have been incorporated. Comparatively limited as is now its sphere of action, it has had a most intimate connexion with the education of the natives of this country; indeed the origin of

* In the year 1814, Mr. May, a Missionary in the Bengal Presidency, commenced the instruction of the natives in the vernacular language at Chinsurah. Upon his death, in 1818, Government, we believe, took charge of his schools, which were then 36 in number, and attended by 3,000 native children.

In 1817 a "School Book Society" was formed at Calcutta, through the exertions of the Marchioness of Hastings, for the purpose of diffusing elementary knowledge in the vernacular tongues; and in 1819 a "School Society," the object of which was to improve the existing native schools. To these Societies aid was afforded by Government.

native education in this Presidency may almost be said to be due to it. About the year 1820, at a meeting presided over by Mountstuart Elphinstone, it appointed a Committee to consider this question of educating natives. The objects at first were only to provide school-books, and to improve native schools, but they were soon afterwards much extended. The subject having been brought to the notice of the public, subscriptions and donations were solicited and obtained. At the end of the year 1821, the Society supported the following schools, containing in the aggregate 217 scholars:—a school at Tannah of 22 boys, one at Surat, attended by 26 scholars, and a third at Broach by 30. In the following year, at the request of the Parent Society, the Committee separated from it, and assumed the designation of the “Bombay School and School-book Society”; fresh subscriptions were set on foot, and Government consented to defray the expense of printing books.

As the usefulness of the new Society increased, however, it became necessary to seek the permanent support of the State, and with the view of being in a position to afford every information which the authorities might require, a Committee was nominated, to report generally upon the state of education amongst the natives. This Report was received in September 1823, and is undoubtedly a very interesting document. In it the Committee first notice the deplorable deficiency of books. In the vernacular dialects of the two provinces of this Presidency they could scarcely discover any work calculated to convey real knowledge. The Mahratta and Guzerattee languages had always been restricted to the purposes of conversation and business, and had never been applied to the cultivation and extension of literature, even in its humblest form. What was perhaps a still more serious obstacle to the advancement of education was the want of an easy and efficacious method of conveying instruction. Upon this subject some very interesting information was collected, and the defects in the native schools then existing were pointed out in detail. As the result of their deliberations, the Committee proposed the Lancasterian system of teaching, which, we believe, was in consequence that first followed in this country.

About the same period, similar inquiries into the state of indigenous schools were instituted in the Madras Presidency; and it may not be uninteresting, in reference to this subject, to quote a very graphic description, by Mr. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, of the course followed in the education of Hindoo youths.

“The education of Hindoo youth,” he says, “generally commences when they are five years old. On reaching this age, the master and the scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent are invited to the home of his parents, the whole are seated in a circle round an image of ‘Gunassee,’ and the child

to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it : the schoolmaster, sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to 'Gunasee,' entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the Deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents, according to their ability.

"The child, the next morning, commences the great work of his education. Some children continue at school only five years, the parents through poverty or other circumstances being often obliged to take them away, and consequently, in such cases, the merest smattering of an education is obtained ; when parents can afford it, and take a lively interest in the cultivation of their children's minds, they not unfrequently continue at school as long as 14 or 15 years.

"The external routine of duty for each day will be found, with few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for assembling the school is six o'clock ; the first child who enters has the name of '*Saras-Wallce*,' or the Goddess of Learning, written upon the palm of his hand, as a sign of honor ; and on the hand of the second a cypher, to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure ; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe ; the fourth two, and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishments in native schools, seem of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged, and often suspended by both hands and a pulley from the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment.

"When the whole have assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher are more immediately under the superintendence of the master. The number of classes is generally four, and the scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger upon the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as amongst European nations. * * * *

"Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, and then the names of men, villages, and animals &c., and lastly arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table, and writes easy sums in addition and subtraction.

"The other parts of a native education consist in deciphering various kinds of handwriting, reading fables and legendary tales, &c."*

Having ascertained the defects in the existing native schools, the Committee next applied themselves to the consideration of the best means of improving the native masters, many of whom were found to be so "ignorant as to be unable to carry a boy through the very limited course of instruction followed in their own seminaries." To remedy this state of matters, it was recommended that a few active natives, resident at the Presidency, and others invited from the Decan and Guzerat, be assembled under the superintendence of one or more members of the Society, and trained in the Lancasterian system of instruction, with the view of becoming qualified as schoolmasters.

* Appendix to the Report on the Affairs of the East India Company --Public.

and fitted to teach others who were to become schoolmasters. After a few months of such instruction, a number of these persons were located in different parts of the Presidency, in charge of vernacular schools.

Although this was probably at the time the best that could be devised, yet it was a very insufficient means of providing instruction for youth. The information collected, and the recommendations founded upon it, having been submitted by the Society to Government, and permanent aid solicited, the reply of the Governor in Council was based upon Mr. Elphinstone's educational minute, recorded December 13th 1823. As that minute is the foundation upon which a system of public instruction was established in this Presidency, as it may not be generally available, and as it has not unfrequently been misunderstood and misrepresented, we propose to give a tolerably full analysis of it.

Mr. Elphinstone's first notices that great assistance would be required from Government. Much had been accomplished by the "Education Society"* of Bengal, and consequently similar effects might be produced by the same means in this Presidency; still, the number of Europeans was here so small, and our connexion with the natives so recent, that much greater exertions were required. Further, as we had succeeded to a Brahman Government, it was dangerous to encourage the labours of the Missionaries, and consequently the cause was deprived of some of its most efficient promoters. The next point to be determined was the manner in which the assistance of Government could be best afforded. Two modes presented themselves: firstly, Government might take the education of the natives entirely upon itself; secondly, it might increase the means and stimulate the exertions of the Society already formed for that purpose. The best result, it was anticipated, would be produced by a combination of these modes; considering that Government would entrust so much to the Society, it was deemed indispensable that it should be made acquainted with all its proceedings; further, it must be distinctly understood that neither religion, nor any topic likely to excite discontent among the natives, should ever be touched upon in the Society's schools or publications.

After these preliminary observations, the following measures were stated to be those required for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives: 1st, To improve the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to increase the number of schools. 2nd, To supply them with books. 3rd, To hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction. 4th, To

* "The Native School Society."

establish schools for the purpose of teaching the European sciences and improvements. 5th, To provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in the native languages. 6th, To establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to study it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of European discoveries. 7th, To hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of these last branches of knowledge. Under these several heads the whole subject is very fully discussed. Profitable, however, as it would be to follow every word which has been written by the founder of education in this Presidency, our limits warn us that we must be content to summarise.

The improvement of schools, as regards their superintendence, it was thought, should be left almost entirely to the Education Society. Government might afford pecuniary assistance, but the minute and constant superintendence necessary would, if undertaken by Government, require a large and expensive establishment, and after all would not meet with that success which could only be expected to result from a genuine spirit of anxiety to attain the object in view. Assistance should be rendered in educating schoolmasters, as solicited by the Society, and concise treatises should be prepared, containing a few rules for the management of schools on the modern system. The expense of printing these and other books should be borne by Government; but it should only give direct aid in increasing the number of schools, for which the circumstances of the country then appeared favourable. The best mode of raising funds for this purpose, and of remunerating schoolmasters, is discussed, but this need not detain us. The encouragement to be afforded to native schools was considered to be a point of great difficulty, but of the utmost importance, and suggestions are offered as to the prizes which should be awarded to both the scholars and teachers. Afterwards the important subject of schools for European science is considered, for which little more could be done than to sketch the outline of a plan. Liberal stipends might be granted to any person who could pass a prescribed examination. As soon as a sufficient number of native professors could be procured, it would be necessary to place an European gentleman at the head of them, and when this stage had been reached, the Poona College might be put upon the same footing.

It was anticipated that in the course of time the European would *swallow up* the Hindoo branch, and the whole funds of the College would thus become applicable for the diffusion of useful knowledge. Any attempt at such union in the first instance would be fatal to both branches, owing to the jealousy of the Brahmans, which if excited would lead to the desertion of the College.

There was, however, one branch of science in which great progress might be at once made, viz. *Medicine*; and the attention of the Medical Service was directed to this point, encouragement being held out for the preparation of translations of medical works.

The difficulties in the way of procuring books for education are much dwelt upon. "It is," says Mr. Elphinstone, "of comparatively little use that people are taught to read, if their studies are to be confined to legends of Hindoo gods; and it seems at first sight to be extremely easy, at a trifling expense, to supplant the few inaccurate and expensive manuscripts which are in the hands of the natives, by an abundance of simple and rational publications, through the means of the press. The difficulty, however, has been much greater than was thought. In four years we have only accomplished the publication of two native books, and they also are translations from the Sanscrit, undertaken more with a view of bringing printed books into use than on account of any instruction they were themselves calculated to afford." The best remedy appeared to be that suggested by the Society, viz. to advertise for the best translations of particular books, or for the best elementary treatises on particular subjects, in specified languages. To encourage the efforts of competent persons, it was proposed that Government should offer rewards, varying from Rupees 100 to 5,000.

The subject of English schools is entered upon at considerable length, and as there has been much controversy in regard to the principles advocated by Mr. Elphinstone upon this point, we will give the substance of his remarks as closely as possible. He first observes, that if English could be at all diffused among persons who have the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge by means of it would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man, who made himself acquainted with a science through the English, would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen.* There was, however, very little desire to learn English. The first step towards creating such a desire would be to establish a school where English might be taught classically. Instruction might also be given in that language on history, geography, and the popular branches of science. "To prevent such a mixture of ranks as might deter the higher order of natives from using the school, no boy should be admitted until he was approved by the Committee." In the way of holding out encouragement for the acquisition of the

* This is undoubtedly a very reasonable proposition, but practically it does not appear to have been true. The late Colonel Jervis stated that one of the best-educated of the young men of the Elphinstone Institution made a translation of the Regulations into Mahratta, which was not intelligible.—Report of the Board of Education, Bombay, 1847-1848.

higher branches of knowledge or science, there were great difficulties. Prizes were recommended, and the expediency of making an examination necessary for Government employment hinted at, but not recommended, because it was essential that the "selection of public functionaries should depend as much as possible upon their fitness for their particular duties." After stating the measures which should immediately be adopted, and urging that no impediment should be offered on the ground of expense, Mr. Elphinstone makes the following judicious observations :—

"It has been urged against our Indian Government, that we have subverted the states of the East, and shut up all the sources from which the magnificence of the country was derived, and that we have not constructed a single work either of utility or splendour. It may be alleged with more justice that we have dried up the fountain of native talent, and that, from the nature of our conquest, not only all encouragement to the advancement of learning is withdrawn, but even the actual learning of the native is likely to be lost, and the productions of former genius to be forgotten. Something should surely be done to remove this reproach. * * *

"It is observed that the Missionaries find the lowest castes the best pupils, but we must be careful how we offer any special encouragement to men of that description : they are not only the most despised, but among the least numerous of the great divisions of society ; and it is to be feared that if our system of education first took root among them, it would never spread further, and in that case we might find ourselves at the head of a new class, superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them. * *

"To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plan of education, I must strongly object. I cannot agree to clog with any additional difficulty a plan which has already so many obstacles to surmount. I am convinced that the conversion of the natives must infallibly result from the diffusion of knowledge amongst them. Evidently they are not aware of the connection, or all attacks on their ignorance would be as vigorously resisted as if they were on their religion.*

"The only effect of introducing Christianity into our schools would be to sound the alarm, and to warn the Brahmans of the approaching danger ; even that warning might perhaps be neglected, so long as no converts were made, but it is a sufficient argument against a plan that it can only be safe as long as it is ineffectual ; and in this instance the danger involves not only failure of our plans of education, but the dissolution of our Empire."

We have thus given at some length the substance of Mr. Elphinstone's educational minute. It abounds, as everything which has fallen from that enlightened individual ever did, with practical wisdom ; and it evinces an earnest desire to afford to the natives of this country

* Their fears, however, had been excited : for so early as the publication of the proceedings connected with the renewal of the Charter in 1813, a number of the leading members of the Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Parsee sects in Bombay waited upon Mr. Warden, then Secretary to Government, to know what was the object of the numerous petitions presented to Parliament, urging the Legislature to adopt measures for promoting the moral and religious improvement of the natives. — Appendix to Report on the Affairs of the East India Company—Public.

the best compensation we can offer for many privileges and some advantages of which they were deprived when our rule was substituted for that of their native princes.

We now proceed with our sketch of the progress of education in this Presidency.—As before mentioned, the reply of Government to the Committee's application is evidently based upon Mr. Elphinstone's minute, notwithstanding that one of his colleagues, Mr. Warden, did not altogether coincide in it, believing that more prominence should be given to English education.* It defers, for the present, aiding the Society in the manner solicited, but sanctions an allowance in the aggregate of Rs. 230 per mensem. In the mean time very valuable information was received from the Collectors of the various zillahs, who had been directed by Government to report upon the state of indigenous education. Our limits will not permit of any detailed reference to this, but it will be found very well summarised in a memoir by Mr. Fisher, of the India House, drawn up in 1832.†

Until 1824, but little would appear to have been effected in the establishment of schools in the Mofussil. In that year a Society for educating natives was formed in the Southern Concan, chiefly we believe through the instrumentality of Lieut. T. B. Jervis, of the Engineers. It was viewed by its elder sister, and by Government, with much satisfaction; and the judicious means adopted to procure the co-operation of the natives of the country, in an undertaking where so much depends on their support, is the subject of commendation. Government authorised the issue to the new association, at the public expense, of such books prepared at Bombay as might be necessary. It also contributed a donation of Rupees 1,000, and an annual subscription of Rupees 500, at the same time recommending a close union and concert between the two Societies, "by which that of the Concan might benefit by the advice and direction of the General Society at the Presidency."

The Committee remark, the establishment of such societies and schools in the Mofussil is the principal means by which the Society proposes and hopes to carry into effect the great end and design for which it was formed. They suggested an union, in effecting which, however, difficulties interposed, and a considerable period elapsed before this desirable object was attained; in the mean time great inconvenience had been felt, by reason of the schools being scattered

* It may be noticed that upon Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Warden's minutes being submitted to the Court of Directors, they decided that the views of the former were more comprehensive than those of Mr. Warden, and not inconsistent with them.

† Appendix to the Report upon the Affairs of the East India Company—Public, 1832.

over the town, to remedy which it was determined to purchase a piece of ground upon which a suitable building might be erected. This purchase was effected in 1825, and thus was obtained the site of the present Elphinstone Institution.*

In this, or the preceding year, an interesting and partially successful experiment was commenced—the formation of an engineer class or institution, under the superintendence of Captain Jervis, of the Engineers. Instruction was conveyed through the media of the vernacular languages. It was stated as the object “to prepare a body of men to act under the officers of Government in superintending surveys and buildings, and to provide for a more general diffusion of mathematical and physical knowledge, as well practical as mechanical, among the native subjects of this Presidency, in their own vernacular dialects.” But strange as it may seem, the success of this experiment has had a somewhat prejudicial influence on the progress of education in this Presidency. It created in the mind of the zealous and energetic officer by whom the institution was planned an exaggerated estimate of the facility by which the higher branches of knowledge may be imparted through the media of the vernacular dialects, and thus laid the foundation of a controversy which harassed and impeded the operations of those whose views were wider, and, as we think, more judicious.

Sir John Malcolm, in an educational minute of the year 1828, states, with reference to this institution for engineers, that he hopes soon to lay before the Board surveys by natives educated in it which will bear comparison with those executed by European officers, who have cost Government five times the salaries of the native surveyors. The Court of Directors, also, from time to time expressed their approbation†; and finally Mr. Willoughby, in his educational minute of 12th January 1850, observes that “there is not a district in this Presidency where men brought up in this institution are not now rendering the most valuable services to the State.”

This is, undoubtedly, strong language, but too much weight should not be attached to it, as Mr. Willoughby was almost equally loud in his praises of a kindred vernacular institution, which

* This edifice is a disgrace to the present advanced state of education in Bombay. It is neither just to the teacher nor the scholars, that they should be obliged to spend many hours daily in a building which is over-crowded, badly situated, and unventilated. To any one whose perceptions are not blunted by habitude, it is impossible to spend an hour in the Elphinstone Institution without either a feeling of sickness or disgust.

† Appendix to the Report upon the Affairs of the East India Company—Public, 1852.

was notoriously so great a failure as to have been abolished on that account by Lord Clare's Government.*

On reading over these encomiums, we naturally expected to find their subject one of the most flourishing institutions at the Presidency; but on enquiry we learn that it has not been in existence since the year 1830. It was abolished by the Bengal Civil Finance Committee; and on turning to the letter addressed by that body to the Bengal Government we find it mentioned in these terms: "Although the success of this institution appears to be considerable, still, in our judgment, it has not been such as, at the present period of financial difficulty, to justify the expense which attends it."†

But whether successful or not to the extent claimed, there is no doubt that in the mind of Colonel Jervis it satisfactorily established the fact that education in the highest branches of science can be readily conveyed through the vernacular tongues. We shall have occasion to refer to this circumstance more fully hereafter.

The year 1825 is memorable in the history of education in this Presidency. In that year the central English school was for the first time placed under an efficient European teacher, and the first native schoolmasters trained by the Society, 24 in number, were reported as qualified. Their attainments were—a facility in reading and writing correctly their mother tongue, a knowledge of arithmetic in all its rules, on the European systems, and a competent knowledge of the system drawn up by the Society for the management of schools. They were located in the following Collectorates of Guzerat and the Deccan,—Poona, Dharwar, Rhutnaghery, Ahmednuggur, Khandeish, Surat, Ahmedabad, Khaira, and Broach.

These so-called "trained instructors of youth" were, we believe, some of them, approaching their grand climacteric when their training commenced, and much ought not to have been expected of them. Still, we were hardly prepared for the very unfavourable account given of them, and of others similarly instructed, by the late Mr. Green, after a tour of inspection through Guzerat in the year 1846.

* The institution here referred to was a medical school, established in the year 1826. It was superintended and conducted by one of the ablest, if not the ablest, man the Medical Service of this Presidency ever possessed; but chiefly, we believe, from the utter impossibility, in the present state of vernacular literature, of communicating scientific knowledge in the vernacular dialects, it was an entire failure. An account of this institution will be found in a number of the late "Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review," for October 1851.

† Report of the Board of Education, 1847-48.

Appendix to the Report upon East India Affairs. Public.

Appendix to the Report on India Affairs, 1852.

Report of the Board of Education for 1845.

He says, that

"With one or two exceptions, the whole of the present masters in the Collectorates of Ahmedabad, Khaira, Broach, and Surat, never look into a book, or rather see a book which is worth looking into. * * *

"The present schoolmasters generally, perhaps, neither believe nor understand much of what they profess to teach, but go through it as a form which is to be complied with before they are entitled to draw their pay. In one case I know, the master (and he was believed to be one of the best Guzeratee masters) has been in the habit of telling his pupils, 'You must learn these things, so that you may be able to give satisfactory answers to the Superintendent when he comes, but God knows whether they are true or not.'"

One of these enlightened gentlemen visited Mr. Green in order to represent the state of his health. "A few nights before he had occasion to go out late, when he was so unfortunate as to meet a ghost. The ghost refused to answer his questions, notwithstanding he repeated them the true mystical number of times—three. Upon that he fell down in a fit, and his health had never been good since." Mr. Green tried, but he feared without much success, to convince him that his confession was a disgrace, both to his understanding and to his courage. In the Khaira school, amongst others even worse, "no pains were taken with the lower classes, and very little indeed with the highest; out of 58 boys only *two* professed to have the slightest acquaintance with either grammar or geography; * * * and none of the boys below the highest class could even read." In a school at Dholka the highest class could not read with facility; one boy declined to try. There was no geography whatever taught, and no grammar. The master did not even pretend to teach these things, but asserted at once that they were of no service to the boys. It must not be supposed, however, that all the vernacular schoolmasters in the employ of the Educational Department at the period of Mr. Green's Report (1846) were of this unfavourable description. Of the master of the principal school at Surat, Mr. Green makes the following report:—

"The master of the principal school at Surat, I do not for a moment hesitate to place above all the natives of India whom I have yet had an opportunity of observing. Without knowing a syllable of English, or any other European language, his manner of thinking and feeling, the energy and fearlessness of his character, his high notions of duty, and his perfect freedom from all the native prejudices, make him really much more European than any even of the most thoroughly English-taught Natives."

It is a curious fact, which may be noticed in passing, that arguments diametrically opposed to each other were founded upon the unfavourable condition of these vernacular schools. Whilst one party maintained that their inefficiency proved the expediency of concentrating our efforts chiefly upon the English schools, the other

as strongly contended that it afforded conclusive evidence of the necessity of paying increased attention to vernacular instruction.

In this year (1825) we also first notice the germ of the English and vernacular controversy, which here and elsewhere has done so much to obstruct the progress of native education. In the Report for 1825-26 the Committee say, "It is evident to the Committee, from the experience they have had, and the consideration they have given to the subject, that in the great undertaking of imparting mental and moral improvement to the natives of India, there can be no question, in a reasonable mind, as to the relative importance of schools in which English is the vehicle of tuition and those in which the vernacular dialects are used." Government, however, attached more importance to the English school, and felt satisfied of the necessity of some effective measures for promoting its progress. "A certain degree of knowledge," it is observed, "can be imparted through the medium of the native languages, by persons entertained from among the natives themselves, but the English language and the higher branches of science can only be taught by well-educated Englishmen." There would seem, however, to have been little desire at that period to acquire more than a very limited knowledge of English, only as much "as would qualify for a scribe in a Government office."

The subject of English and vernacular education was soon after this period taken up by Sir John Malcolm, and the weight of his influence gave the preponderance to vernacular instruction. Somewhat similar, but by no means identical, discussions were carried on a few years later with much ardour in Bengal, and they seem to have terminated in an exactly opposite solution of the question—the preponderance there being given to English institutions. In Bombay, however, discussions upon this subject ceased for many years, until 1847, when they were revived by the late Colonel Jervis.

Before proceeding further we may pause to notice the state of the schools in the year 1827. The English schools contained 60 scholars, the vernacular schools at the Presidency 308. In the Mofussil there were 24 seminaries under masters trained by the Society, of which favorable accounts were received.

We now approach an event which is perhaps unparalleled in the history of modern education. On the 28th August 1828, a public meeting of the native inhabitants of Bombay was held for the purpose of considering the best means of attesting the affectionate and respectful sentiments of the native community towards the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, on his leaving the Government of Bombay. The meeting was first addressed by the late Framjee Cowas-

jee, of whom it is but just to say that he was the pioneer of improvement and civilisation in this Presidency. "They might," he said, "erect a statue, or present a service of plate, or draw up a suitable address; but he entreated his fellow-citizens to consider what other means they could devise to perpetuate the remembrance of one to whom they had looked as their common father and friend." After deliberation it was unanimously resolved "that the most satisfactory and durable plan of carrying their wishes into effect is by accumulating a fund of money, to be vested in Government Securities, from the interest of which, according to its amount, one or more Professorships (to be held by gentlemen from Great Britain until the happy period arrive when natives should be fully competent to hold them) be established under the Bombay Native Education Society, for teaching the English language, and the arts and sciences of Europe; and that these Professorships, in compliment to the person in reference to whom the meeting has been convened, be denominated the "Elphinstone Professorships." The large sum of Rupees 50,276 was subscribed by the meeting, and very shortly afterwards the subscription reached Rs. 2,15,000, when an application was made to Government to add a sufficient sum from the Public Treasury to procure the services of three "truly eminent men from England, to be selected by public examination."*

The Court of Directors authorised the Bombay Government to afford such assistance, either by the grant of a sum of money or an annual allowance, as might be deemed proper, for organising a seminary for instruction in the higher branches of knowledge, taking for their model the "Anglo-Indian College" at Calcutta. Many delays, however, occurred, and it was not until the year 1835 that the project was definitely set on foot. Meanwhile, the Education Society zealously continued its exertions. In the Report for 1828-29 the Committee congratulate the public upon the great improvement which had taken place during the preceding year. They observed, "We venture to say that in no part of the globe have such wide and effectual advantages spread so quickly from means at first so circumscribed, and in the face of so many and great difficulties." In the year 1830 a résumé is given of the success of the Society from the time of its formation, by which it appears that in the central school 250 boys had gone through a course of study in the English language, 50 having left it with a competent knowledge of the language, consisting of an acquaintance with geography, mathe-

* It was subsequently decided that the selection of the first Elphinstone Professors should be left to Mr. Elphinstone.

matics, and geometry. In the vernacular schools at the Presidency the scholars numbered 1,372,—945 Mahrattas and 427 Guzerattees. There were in all 56 schools under the Society's supervision, each on an average containing about 60 scholars, so that there were more than 3,000 boys under instruction. The Hindoos, it was remarked, made the most progress, being left longest at school; and it was noticed that the Mahomedans had evinced little desire to avail themselves of the benefits of education. The jealousy and opposition of the native schoolmasters, which was at one time considerable, had then subsided.

In the year 1832 rules for the management of the "Elphinstone College" were drawn up by a Committee appointed by Government, in association with certain native gentlemen who were connected with the Elphinstone Professorship Fund. We need not at present refer at any length to these regulations, but may mention that in regard to a rule which provided for the exclusion of all religious subjects, the Committee was not unanimous, a majority of the European members being of opinion that it should not form a principle of the new institution. They reasoned, that no such regulation was to be found in the Anglo-Indian College at Calcutta,—that if introduced it would operate as an injurious restraint upon the Professors in delivering lectures upon history, the belles-lettres, astronomy, and the subjects of moral philosophy,—that the object of the institution was not merely to educate the mind, but also to improve the moral qualities,—that the students must spend a considerable number of hours every day with the Professor, and the effect of such a prohibition must interfere with instruction, as regards the improvement of their moral principles in reference to truth and falsehood and purity of conduct,—and finally, that instruction in the European arts and sciences and history must necessarily embrace something of political economy, and that to give instruction in these branches, and at the same time to neglect improvement in moral principles, is to place power in the hands of the people which they are most likely to use to the injury of themselves and all connected with them. These arguments were eagerly combated by Lieutenant (now Major) Pope, in a very able minute, recorded Dec. 12th, 1832. It was contended that the exclusion of religious instruction could in no way interfere with the full and free communication of useful knowledge,—that the very circumstance of the young men being obliged to spend several hours daily in the society of the Professors was the strongest possible reason for the distinct and pointed prohibition of any attempt at religious instruction or discussion,—that sound moral instruction was duly provided for, and that for its inculcation no religious

teaching was necessary beyond a general reference to an omniscient and supreme God, which was objected to by no class or sect,—that unless such rules were introduced the College would be only partially attended,—lastly, that in all matters connected with education, Government was pledged to the principle of non-interference in religious matters, and that in reliance on its good faith in this particular large subscriptions had been raised by the native community. The minute concludes with the following judicious observations, with which, we need hardly say, we most fully concur. “Let them (the natives) be first qualified by education and mental discipline, and habits of reasoning and thinking for themselves, and then let us trust that as the truth is great, so it will prevail, without the necessity of our exciting distrust and ill-will in the minds of all classes of the natives, by attempting to alter the religion of their children, under cover of an institution for their education, the funds for the maintenance of which have been principally subscribed by themselves.”*

In the numerous discussions which have from time to time been held upon the subject of religious teaching in our schools and colleges, we are quite unable to see the force of the arguments used by those who wish to prove that education, in which religious instruction does not form an essential element, is opposed to the happiness and well-being of society. Admitting, as we most fully do, that the best of all securities against the commission of immoral acts, on the part both of individuals and communities, are their religious sentiments and aspirations, and that every system of education is imperfect without religious instruction, we yet maintain that many restraints are in operation which are no way connected with religion, and are the results of mental cultivation. Is there, for example, nothing to restrain men from vice in the study of Milton and Shakspeare, of Scott, of Southey, of Wordsworth, of Tennyson, of Longfellow, of Dickens, of Thackeray? Is there nothing to excite to virtue in tracing the career of a Washington, a Hampden, a Sydney, or a Russell? Is there nothing to raise from low and grovelling pursuits, and turn the mind to high and noble designs, in the contemplation of the lives of Burke, of Chatham, of Wilberforce? Is there nothing to awaken deeds of noble emulation in familiarising ourselves with the sufferings, the

* In Mr. Marshman's evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1853, it is stated that a list was made out in the year 1852 regarding the number of youths who have embraced Christianity from among those who have been educated by the Missionaries, and those brought up in the Government institutions. Mr. Marshman believed the number to have been 70, and that about 30 of the converts had been trained in Government institutions.—Vide 6th Report on Indian Territories.

self-denial, the heroism, of a Columbus or a Franklin? To say, therefore, that a man is the worse for having the capacity given him of placing himself in contact "with the best society in every period of history, with the wisest, the wittiest, the tenderest, the bravest, the purest, characters that have adorned humanity,"* is a dogma that we will not believe. We have little faith in man in a state of nature. We appreciate at very little the sentimental tales of virtuous village maidens and honest rustic swains; a glance at the *Newgate Calendar* and modern police reports is sufficient to convince the most sceptical that ignorance and crime are very common co-partners.† That there are offences committed by the educated which could not be committed by the illiterate, we do not of course mean to deny. A man who cannot write cannot forge a cheque; nor perhaps would it be possible to find a "Wainwright" in a country village. Yet we are certain that those refined offences, so to speak, have a very satisfactory set-off in the extent to which education acts upon the mass in developing habits of self-denial and of moral self-control. But we must not pursue this subject.

The rules of the Elphinstone College, framed in the manner we have stated, were submitted to Government, but several years elapsed before they were brought into operation.

About this period the Government of Bombay became alarmed at the enormous disproportion between the amount of contributions made by Government and Europeans, and by the native community. It was found that between the years 1826 and 1830 the State had expended, for the publication of works and for prizes, Rs. 2,01,923, and within three years, from 1828 to 1830, the subscriptions and donations of Europeans amounted to Rs. 8,183, whilst those of the native community amounted only to Rs. 4,714. By letter dated 21st September 1832 it was announced that Government would contribute an annual donation of Rs. 20,000, in lieu of all other expenses.

It may not be uninteresting, and it will be useful for reference, to show in this place the sums that were applied by the Indian Government* for the purpose of educating the natives, from the year 1813 to 1830.

* Sir John Herschel. *

† Any one who is in the habit of perusing the published cases of crime, selected from the records of the *Sudder Adawlut*, must have been struck with the frequency and atrocity of the offences committed in the villages of the *Mofussil*.

	BENGAL.	MADRAS	BOMBAY.	TOTAL
1813...	£1,207	£180	£112	£8,129
1814...	11,606	480	499	12,585
1815...	4,105	480	537	5,122
1816...	5,146	480	578	6,204
1817...	5,177	480	595	6,152
1818...	5,241	480	630	6,321
1819...	7,191	480	1,270	8,941
1820...	5,807	480	1,101	7,688
1821...	6,882	480	594	7,956
1822...	9,081	480	594	10,155
1823...	6,134	180	594	7,208
1824...	19,970	480	1,131	21,881
1825...	57,122	480	8,961	66,563
1826...	21,623	480	5,369	27,472
1827...	30,077	2,110	13,096	45,313
1828...	22,797	2,980	10,064	35,841
1829...	24,663	3,614	9,799	38,076
1830...	28,748	2,946	12,636	44,330*

We now approach the year 1835, which must be viewed as an era in the history of education in India. At this period a great impulse was given to English education in this Presidency by the arrival of competent teachers from Europe, and in Bengal by a series of events which we must in the first place briefly notice.

In the year 1823, the grant of one lac of rupees from the surplus revenue which from 1813 had been, or should have been, set apart for the promotion of education, amongst the natives, was, for the first time, specifically appropriated to that object. A Committee of Public Instruction was nominated in Bengal, under whose control all the educational contributions of that Presidency were placed. Very soon, however, differences of opinion arose amongst the members of this Committee, as to the manner in which the funds should be disposed of. One section was in favor of the existing system, which was characterised by an attempt to promote the education of the people through the media of the learned languages of the East—Arabic and Sanscrit. The other party was equally desirous that English should be the medium. We cannot here follow the arguments of the disputants, but may mention that the controversy was carried on with extraordinary vigour, not unminged with acrimony, for several years, until, indeed, the Committee came to a dead lock. About the year, 1834, the dispute was referred for the authoritative decision of the Governor General.

* By the last Parliamentary Returns it would appear that very nearly £30,000 (9 lacs) are now annually contributed by Government, of which sum Rs. 2,50,000 are expended in the Bombay Presidency.

At this time the "Supreme Council" numbered amongst its members one whose opinion upon educational matters in India has deservedly had no slight influence—we allude to Mr. Macaulay. Lord William Bentinck's decision is evidently based upon a minute drawn up by that gentleman—a decision which was altogether in favour of the Anglicist party, and which was promulgated in what has since been called "the celebrated General Order of 1835." By this it was decided "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed in English education alone." The existing Colleges were not, however, abolished, but the system of supporting the students by stipends was discontinued, and no money was to be spent in printing Oriental works. The sums thus accruing were, for the most part, to be devoted to education in English.

These views of Government were received with much indignation by the Orientalists. Pamphlets were published, in which many hard words were employed; the Government was accused of spoliation, of mis-interpreting the Act of 1813,^{*} of sacrificing a great cause in the vain expectation of being able to substitute a foreign language for the dialects of the country. Horace Wilson, from the cloisters of Oxford, ran a tilt with some effect in the pages of the *Asiatic Journal*; but the victory remained with the Anglicists.

From this period, in Bengal, "English" has been in the ascendant; indeed, in the General Order referred to the vernaculars are not even mentioned; but the Committee very properly did not consider this omission as a sufficient reason for neglecting them. On the contrary, in their first Report they express their intention of promoting, in every practicable way, education amongst the people, through the medium of the vernacular tongues. It should be remembered that this controversy was, in a great measure, distinct from the English and vernacular discussions which raged in Bombay a few years back. The question in dispute was not whether instruction should be conveyed in English or the vernacular tongues, but whether English should be substituted for the learned languages of the East.†

* The wording of the Act seems to have been rather obscure. The sum of one lac was to be appropriated for revising literature in India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the "British territories."

† It is well to keep this in mind, for some writers upon education in India would appear to have been unaware of the difference between these discussions.—Vide Report of the Bombay Board of Education for 1817-18; minute by Mr. Willoughby.

To return to Bombay. Although much attention had been given in this Presidency to vernacular instruction, there does not appear to have been at any time the same bias in favour of the Oriental classical languages, which we have noticed as prevailing at Bengal. It cannot, however, be said that the English language had, up to the period now noticed, to any extent been substituted for them. As we have had occasion to remark, the English schools were, for many years, in a languishing condition ; and indeed it was with difficulty they could be supported. The arrival from England of Messrs. Bell and Henderson, in the early part of 1835, infused vigour into them ; and in the connection, towards the end of that year, of the first Elphinstone Professors, Messrs. Harkness and Orlebar, with the institution in Bombay, English education received an impulse which is even yet felt.

In the Report for 1836 it is stated that the demand for admission into the English schools is so great that in the Central School there are 214 boys, and in that of the Fort 100 ; the latter was filled in less than a week from its being opened.

As a further proof of the progress then being made, we may mention the establishment of a school for Mahomedans, through the exertions of Mahomed Ibrahim Muc'blha, which was opened in 1835. It had long been a subject of regret that this class of the community seemed altogether regardless of the benefits of education ; and, notwithstanding the laudable efforts of the individual just named, we fear that the followers of the Prophet, in the Bombay Presidency at least, have not yet shown themselves undeserving of this reproach. We understand that few of the students in the Elphinstone Institution are of the Mahomedan persuasion, and that the Grant Medical Collège does not number one such among its graduates.

The time had now arrived when an event anxiously looked for was to be consummated—the establishment of the Elphinstone Collège—the plan of which received the sanction of Government towards the end of the year. It was to be conducted under the general superintendence of Government, and to be managed by a Committee, to consist of four European and four native members, with a president ; the latter and one European member to be nominated by Government, the remaining seven members to be elected by the directors of the Native Education Society ; Government having a veto upon the election of the European members. It will thus be apparent that the connection between the Native Education Society and the new Collège was indirect and insignificant. They were in fact two educational establishments, governed by separate corporations, nominally related, but in reality distinct and independent of one another.

The Elphinstone Professors commenced their labours in February 1836, in a room in the Town Hall, which had been allotted to them. They were to give both public and private lectures. The former are described as well attended, but there was some difficulty in forming a class of regular students, which was at length effected by obtaining a mixed class of native and of English boys, chiefly from the private English schools in Bombay. At the end of two years from the arrival of the Elphinstone Professors, it was found that the College had effected very little good. The hopes entertained that the Native Education Society's schools would be a nursery from which the Professors might receive a constant supply of well-educated pupils, were soon dissipated. Between the two institutions, indeed, there appears to have been a sort of rivalry. The Reports of that period, and particularly that of 1838, explain in some measure, we think, the ill success of the College.

It would seem that the European teachers in the schools were not willing to occupy the place of mere schoolmasters : they aspired to teach those higher branches of knowledge which are usually taught in Colleges. Not content with history, mathematics, algebra, literature, and classics (we observe the boys were examined in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), they imparted instruction in chemistry, anatomy, and materia medica. Moreover, there were endowments in the schools, for the maintenance of scholarships, so that to the young men the schools probably seemed, in every respect, to possess as great attractions as the College. Be this, however, as it may, the school flourished and the College languished. In this conjuncture, a conference was proposed between the Professor, and Teachers, in the hope that some plan might be agreed to by which the two institutions might mutually assist one another. Nothing, however, came of it, and it seems to have been acknowledged on all sides as very unsatisfactory. At length it was determined to establish a school in the Fort, in connection with the College, to be called the "Elphinstone College School," and to recommend to Government the foundation of scholarships in the College, together with other changes.

The College Council thought the difficulties were now surmounted, and expressed themselves to this effect in a communication to Government dated 21st January 1839.

On the 16th March 1839, however, Government addressed a letter to the Elphinstone College Council and the Committee of the Native Education Society, recommending that the two parts of the institution should be conducted with unity of purpose, and that the partial disjunction which had taken place should be remedied, as far as practicable, by blending into one the management of both. A sort of union appears to have been effected, which was finally arranged and

fixed by Government in April 1840. The institutions were combined, under the designation of the "Elphinstone Native Education Institution," the College for a time being placed in abeyance, and the whole institution entrusted to the management of a "*Board of Education.*"

Here then we take a fresh departure; we have traced the progress of education in this Presidency from a remote period—we have noticed the difficulties it has had to contend with, and the means by which they have been surmounted—we have seen how zealous have been the exertions of those by whom it was promoted—and lastly, we have witnessed that which might, under the circumstances, perhaps, have been expected—zeal outstripping discretion in the premature establishment of the Elphinstone College. We have now to trace the progress of education in this Presidency under a more concentrated system of management, in which Government was to be more directly concerned.

The Board of Education was constituted partly by nomination and partly by election:—the Native Education Society was empowered to elect annually three members; the remaining three were nominated by Government. The funds of the Native Education Society and of the Elphinstone Professorships were entrusted to the Board. The first Report of the Board was not submitted until the year 1842. It contains a very full and clear account of all the institutions under its control, together with a succinct and historical sketch of each.

The institutions were as follows:—

English.

1st. Elphinstone Native Education Institution	681 pupils.
2nd. Poona School	119 "
3rd. Tannah School	77 "
4th. Panwell	*

Vernacular.

Three Mahratta Schools	366 pupils.
Three Guzerattee Schools	315 "
One Hindustanee School	44 "
Poona Collectorate 19 schools,	1,138 "
Ahmednuggur 14 "	1,125 "
Sholapore 4 "	316 "
Rutnagherry 8 "	635 "
Tannah 10 "	670 "
Surat 14 "	866 "
Ahmedabad 6 "	295 "
Khaira 7 "	308 "
Belgaum 17 "	471 "

* The number in this school is not stated.

We observe that, the year previous to the formation of the Board, the Governor General brought to the notice of the Bombay Government the expediency of considering measures for adapting to native wants the instruction conveyed in the most advanced of the English Colleges. A very valuable Report upon this subject was prepared and submitted by Captain (now Major) Candy, the able Principal of the Poona College, to whom Government had referred for information and suggestions. The Board adopted some of Major Candy's recommendations; they very properly, however, were anxious to proceed cautiously. They were satisfied that their efforts were in the right direction, and that their "first endeavour ought to be limited to steadily maintaining a spirit of vigour and systematic working in our present institutions" and "to taking advantage of those favourable opportunities of elevating their character and adding to their number which, under judicious management, may be expected from time to time to occur." Further than this, they say, "We believe that the assistance of Government will be of no avail, and that it is in vain to expect to extract from the forced efforts of a few years those results which it is to be feared are of very slow growth."[†] We wish that these sensible and judicious views had been more generally entertained, and that they had been less frequently departed from. Systems have been condemned, altered, remodelled, and sometimes destroyed, because they did not effect that which they could not reasonably have been expected to effect.

What—it has been, and we believe often is asked—has education done for the people? Has it raised their moral tone?—has it enabled them to promote the interests of their country?—has it made them more honest and efficient servants of the State?—are they better men, better citizens, better subjects, better members of society? Now we contend that the time has not yet arrived when these questions should be asked; and if we should be constrained to answer them in the negative, this would afford no satisfactory proof that education has failed in its objects. It is not in this, and perhaps hardly in the next generation, that the ameliorating influences of education can be expected fully to manifest themselves. That system of home-training of children to which education will lead, has, as yet, scarcely commenced. But we are by no means of opinion that an improvement in the moral character of the people is not even now to some extent perceptible, and we are not singular in this opinion.

[†] First Report of the Board of Education, 1812.

A gentleman of experience* in this matter has expressed himself to the following effect :—

“ I think the progress of education in India, since 1833 has been satisfactory : it has been continuous, and on the whole in the right direction : the results, so far as we can judge of them by observing the conduct and character of those who have been educated at the institutions, and have gone forth into the world, of whom a great many have been employed in Government situations, and a good many in private situations, are that they are improving much, in morals and in conduct, by the education which they have received, and I think they are a superior class altogether to those who preceded them, who were less educated, or according to our views, not educated at all.”†

The Bombay Board were satisfied, after full consideration, that they were in the right road. They knew that the end of the journey was not likely to be visible for a long time : they did not therefore trouble themselves with unreasonable expectations of catching glimpses of it from the top of every little elevation ; they did not expect this, and they did not look for it. In reference to the English schools they observe, “ in addition to a systematic manner of registering the pupils, we have limited our innovations to the following points.” These points were, the introduction of a rule by which every candidate for admission must give evidence of possessing a competent knowledge of his vernacular tongue, the exaction of an entrance fee, and the provision of suitable means of inspection. We doubt whether the first of these measures was judicious ; that is, if by a competent knowledge of the vernacular language is meant anything more than the acquirement of the mere rudiments. It is of the last importance that instruction in the vernacular languages should be efficient : but we think it should be *after* and *not before* the admission of the boys into the English school. If anything like a complete acquaintance with a vernacular language is to be insisted upon before the study of English is commenced, the boy must have attained an age beyond that at which education in English can be carried on with facility. Further, the supposition that youths have acquired a *competent* knowledge of the vernacular languages before they enter the English school, is apt to lead to the belief that little further instruction is requisite. This is a serious

* Mr. Kerr, Principal of the Hooghly College, in a Review of Public Instruction in Bengal, says, “ It may be asked, Are the educated natives more likely to prove honest men, and consequently more useful servants of the State, than the rest of their countrymen? I believe they are. The universal impression among themselves is that they are ; and of this distinction they are not a little proud. At our colleges and schools they acquire to some extent the habit of truthfulness. English principles are, to a certain extent, engrafted in their hearts. They acquire also a taste for what is true and beautiful in speculation, which, so far as it goes, is favorable to upright and honorable conduct.”— Vide Cameron’s (C. II.) Address to Parliament.

† 6th Report on Indian Territories, 1853 ; evidence of Mr. Halliday.

error, and we think its effects are visible in many of the young men who have been educated in the Elphinstone Institution. Instruction, we think, in English and the vernacular should be carried on *pari passu*, and we believe this is *now* the practice.

The subject of vernacular schools in the Mofussil occupied the Board's attention, and some judicious rules for their management were framed. We are almost tempted to quote a very interesting Report upon those of the Deccan and Concan, by Captain Candy, drawn up in the year 1840, but must content ourselves with a summary. The system of instruction was the Lancasterian—each class had its monitor; the master exercised superintendence over all, but gave his attention chiefly to the senior classes. The rudiments of reading and writing were acquired simultaneously, by the scholars writing the alphabet on a sand-board. Both the Balbodhi and Modhi characters were taught. After acquiring a knowledge of letters and words, they began to read easy books, and afterwards advanced from them to such books as Esop's Fables, the Children's Friend, History of England, Mahratta History, &c. Arithmetic was very popular, and latterly a good deal of attention seems to have been given to grammar and geography. The books for moral instruction appear to have been defective, and Captain Candy was of opinion that a compendium of sound instruction on the duties of man, in the various relations of life, would be a great acquisition.

In the year 1836, an experiment was commenced by Captain Shortrede, Assistant to the Collector of Poona, under the sanction of Government, in the Poorundhur district, by the establishment of a number of village schools. The object was to test the feasibility of a general introduction of education among the agricultural and labouring classes of the community. The schoolmasters were to be paid from 4 or 5 to 8 or 10 rupees a month; and, as might have been expected, they were found incompetent. These schools were abolished about the year 1842.

We must pass over the praiseworthy exertions of the Board in endeavouring to collect information as to the state of education in the indigenous schools—in the appointment of local Committees—the preparation of class-books in the English and vernacular languages—these were all measures of considerable importance, and received their full share of attention. It is quite evident that the Board had clear views of the breadth of the basis upon which public instruction in this country should rest, without losing sight of the limits within which their operations should be restricted.

We have been thus full in our notice of the first Report of the Board of Education, because we were anxious to have an opportunity

of stating distinctly the objects contemplated at that period, and the means by which it was proposed to work them out. It will be seen that they differ little from the views entertained at the present time, notwithstanding the discussions which have since taken place, and in the face of an assertion made by a late President of the Board—that at the period of his accession to office there were no principles to guide the Board in the performance of their duties. We may pass more lightly over subsequent events.

The introduction of a partial self-supporting system into the Government schools had always been considered a very expedient measure; and in 1841 a fee of one rupee per mensem was charged for admission into the English schools, and in 1843 the same principle was introduced into the vernacular schools, two annas being paid monthly. These fees have, we believe, been subsequently increased, and without having the effect of diminishing to any extent the number of boys in the schools.

Bright, however, as seemed the prospects of education at this time, there was yet wanting that without which no system of public instruction can be built upon a solid foundation. There were no “normal classes.” It has always appeared to us astounding, that the necessity of teaching the schoolmaster should only have been recognised within the present century. Not only, indeed, was no special course of training demanded, but the possession of even the rudiments of knowledge was not ensured; and even now, in the full blaze of modern enlightenment, do we not meet with instances where persons, possessed of common sense in most matters, entrust the education and the moral training of their children to a pedagogue, in whose hands they would be unwilling to place the conduct of the simplest transaction of ordinary life?

Attempts had, as we have before mentioned, been made in this Presidency to train a class of native schoolmasters, but with little or no benefit. For many years, however, scarcely any attention was paid to this important subject. One of the earliest measures contemplated by the Board of Education was the formation of a “normal class” in the Elphinstone Institution. There was much difficulty, however, in effecting this; and it was not until the year 1844 that the class was fairly set to work, and even then with only half of the number of scholars originally desired. We watched its progress with great interest. Much undoubtedly was, and might reasonably have been, expected from it; but we fear these reasonable anticipations have not been realised. There was, as we have mentioned, difficulty experienced in the first place, in inducing young men from the country to come to Bombay; the class was, in consequence, never fully formed. Scarcely had any

progress been made when it lost by death its most able director, Ball Gungadhar Shastree. An attempt was made, it is true, to supply his place ; but with little success. The class did not advance as it should have done ; and it was abolished in 1847 or 1848, the Board having decided that the advantages expected from the experiment had not been realised.*

Meanwhile, the efforts of the Board in the extension of education through the Presidency, by the establishment of both English and vernacular schools, were systematically continued. Amongst the former, a school at Surat, opened in 1842, has gained considerable celebrity. It was for several years under the management of Mr. Green, one of the most successful, if not *the* most successful of school teachers that we have had in this part of India. Nor was progress less apparent in Bombay. The number of pupils in all the Government schools, year by year, increased. Instruction was imparted in an efficient manner, and upon a comprehensive scale ; the European teachers in the Central Schools being both numerous and possessed of the highest qualifications.

In the year 1843, an engineer class was formed under Professor Pole, who had been expressly invited from England for the purpose of conducting it. In 1846 his state of health compelled him to resign his appointment and proceed to England. He was succeeded by Captain Marriott, who also, from failing health, was unable to continue his exertions. At the end of three years from its establishment the class was broken up ; and, owing, as it was said, to a want of sufficient encouragement on the part of Government, it was found impracticable to form another. •

The year 1844 was marked by the accession of Sir Erskine Perry to the office of President of the Board, consequent upon the departure to Europe of Mr. (now Sir George) Anderson. There can be no question that the new President infused a degree of vigour into educational proceedings which had not previously existed. To an acute, an active, and a well-cultivated mind, which he undoubtedly possessed, were added habits of extraordinary industry. To acquire information on any subject to which his attention was directed, he spared neither time nor labour. Entering warmly into the noble cause of native education, he threw into it the influence of high position, unquestionable talents, and unwearied application.

That his views were, in the main, correct, we entertain no doubt, but they were often misunderstood, and as frequently misrepresented. For this, indeed, he has himself, in some measure, to answer. In the

* Normal classes have since been formed in the Poona College and Surat School, and, by the last Report of the Board of Education, would seem to be working satisfactorily.

expression of his opinions there was at times an obscurity of language, which opened a wide door for misapprehension; at the same time he often evinced a restlessness of purpose, an impatience for results, a desire of innovation, which were calculated to excite feelings of distrust and hostility. But with every abatement on account of these blemishes, it is beyond doubt that he was a successful promoter of the cause of education in this Presidency; and his name will deservedly be handed down to posterity as one of a noble band, to whom India owes even more than to the warriors and statesmen whose statues adorn her thoroughfares, and ennoble her public buildings.

But Sir Erskine's path, in the office he had undertaken to fill, was not strewn with roses. There was evidently a feeling entertained by some of his colleagues that his views were greatly in favour of English as the medium through which knowledge should be imparted to the natives of this country, and that he looked upon the vernacular languages with contempt and disdain. The first collision occurred in the preparation of the Educational Report for the year 1845. This is acknowledged to have been drawn up by the President, and it certainly gives greater prominence to English instruction than any of the Board's former Reports. Colonel Jervis, then a member of the Board, wished to expunge a considerable part, or, as Sir Erskine says, "to castrate" it, but the majority was in favour of the President, and consequently it did not undergo the desired mutilation. Still it became evident that there were two parties in the Board, and that a suitable opportunity was only necessary to lead to discussion. That opportunity was soon afforded. But before noticing this discussion, we would direct attention to a passage in the Report just mentioned, which strikes us as singularly objectionable. It is stated, that "when a conquering race undertakes the high moral duty of educating the masses who have been subjected to their rule, it is obvious they may either do so in the foreign language they themselves have introduced into the country, or in the vernacular tongues of the inhabitants." Now this is a principle from which we altogether dissent. We hold that it is the bounden duty of a civilised nation to spend the revenues of a conquered territory in that mode which is most conducive to the happiness and welfare of the inhabitants. If, therefore, educational funds are contributed by the people, it is incumbent upon the ruling power to apply these funds in imparting knowledge through whichever medium is most suited to the condition of the people, and which is the most likely to afford the largest amount of knowledge to the largest number of persons. For a civilised State to say to a nation like that of India, which by one means or another it had reduced to subjection, destroying its ancient institutions, and thus depriving the people of the power of

assisting themselves, — to say to such a people, “ We will assist in the introduction of knowledge, but if you wish to acquire it, it must be through a foreign language alone; we do not care for your vernacular languages,” this would indeed be tyranny. Better would it be to imitate the Turks, and prohibit the vernacular languages altogether, as that nation did the Greek language in several of its dependencies.

But to return. Notwithstanding the difference of opinion in the Board, measures of importance were introduced and carried. The more efficient inspection of the schools in the Mofussil was provided for, and the Elphinstone Institution was placed under the control of a Principal, selected by the Professors from their own body. The election fell upon Professor Harkness, and a better one could not have been made. It is now nearly twenty years that this able man has been connected with education in this Presidency. He has seen the Elphinstone Institution rise from a comparatively small school to a flourishing collegiate establishment; and has the proud satisfaction of feeling that, unattracted by the meretricious displays of equally ardent but less judicious labourers in the same field, he has ever kept on the even tenor of his way, seeking for no applause but that of his own conscience, asking for no reward but that inward feeling of gratification which results from the knowledge of duty performed.

In addition to this very judicious appointment, the English schools in the Mofussil were increased, the vernacular schools improved, and in the year 1845 the Grant Medical College was opened.

We have noticed the difference of opinion amongst the members of the Board in regard to English and vernacular instruction. In the year 1847, in consequence of a reference from Government as to the vernacular qualifications of the students of the engineer class, Colonel Jervis seized the opportunity to re-open the whole question, on the side of the vernacularists. He was warmly combated by Sir Erskine Perry, and *now* commenced a controversy which appears to us to have been extremely unprofitable. Whether the views of each party were understood, seems doubtful; but there is no doubt they were mutually misrepresented. We do not propose to enter into the merits of this discussion. It led to no material change in the system of public instruction in this Presidency, whilst for a time it exerted an injurious influence upon its progress. At length, as in Bengal in 1834, the decision of Government was required to settle existing differences. This reference called into the field another champion of vernacular instruction, in the person of Mr. Wolloughby, then a Member of Council, who recorded his views, in a minute which has been published in the Report of the Board of Education for

1847-48.* To say that this is not an able production, would be to say that which no one in this Presidency would believe. We have no intention of so characterising it; at the same time, although it contains much that is both sensible and judicious, it in our opinion carries upon the face of it evidence (of what indeed Mr. Willoughby himself admits) that it was not the result of any lengthened application of his mind to this important subject. It does not even, we think, fairly hit the matter in dispute. Mr. Willoughby says,—“It is indeed extraordinary that any difference of opinion should have arisen on the subject, for it seems to me perfectly chimerical to suppose that a sound and practical education can be imparted to the large body of the natives of India, speaking so many tongues and dialects, through the medium of a foreign and very difficult language.”*

Now this clearly was not the subject in dispute. No one in this Presidency, at all events of late years, has entertained the idea of the possibility or expediency of attempting to educate the masses of the people in the English language. The “debated point” was, whether, with the small sum devoted to educational purposes, it was more advisable to act upon a few, who were to act upon the many, or to commence at once upon the great body of the people. But we are most unwilling to discuss this question: in the main we agree with what has been termed the Anglicist party; at the same time, we do not think so much attention has been given to vernacular instruction as its importance required, and this more particularly in Bombay. We have had some experience of the young men educated in the Elphinstone Institution;—with some very notable exceptions we fear they are not undeserving of the reproach which has been cast upon them by the late Colonel Jervis and others, that they are incapable of conveying their knowledge to their fellow-countrymen in their vernacular dialects.

Doubtless, there is in the island of Bombay little desire for vernacular instruction, but this is only an additional reason for encouraging, if not of creating it, by holding out rewards, and by insisting upon a critical acquaintance with the native languages, in those who are candidates for the higher scholarships. We are sanguine enough to entertain the belief that the time will arrive when education in all our Colleges, General and Medical, will be imparted in the vernacular tongues, and English will only be studied as the classical

* Even in his own view of the case, Mr. Willoughby seems to have been unmindful of the fact that the number of tongues and dialects must offer great obstacles to vernacular instruction, and, if it were any argument at all, would rather be in favour of English or some other foreign medium—a “lingua franca,” as Sir Erskine Perry would call it.

languages of Greece and Rome are now studied in Europe—as a means of mental discipline and of cultivating the taste. When this time arrives, we do not think English will even be the language of the ruling power, unless some very great change takes place in our relation to the people of this country.

It is not in the nature of things that a handful of foreigners, separated from the inhabitants by an entire difference of social customs and religious belief, can maintain their hold upon a country like India, when its vast population comes to be instructed in the science of government, and in the laws of political economy. These speculations are, however, at the present time, perhaps, premature, for the event at which we have hinted is still in the far distant horizon—veiled in the deep obscurity of time; and who can say, in the mighty revolution of occurrences, that we may not, long ere it is manifest, be recalled to the land of our birth, to defend our hearths and our altars from the tread of the foreigner and the desecration of the barbarian? One thing, however, is quite certain: whether we are to be expelled, or to remain, it is a duty imposed upon us by every moral and divine law, to raise this nation from its present state of moral and intellectual degradation. If in the end “the brightest jewel in the crown” is to be torn from it, let it be so;—we have accomplished a great and glorious mission, and let the consolation be in the reflection that, great as may be its loss, millions of our fellow-creatures will have been emancipated by our means from the chains of superstition and ignorance; that they will have ascended to a knowledge and perhaps just appreciation of “Him who died for all men” that He might make them “free indeed.”

Having thus traced, very imperfectly we confess, but as fully as our limits, our time, and ability would permit, the progress of education in this Presidency, we are desirous of placing before our readers, as briefly as possible, the present condition of our educational institutions. These may be arranged under the following heads:—1st, Government institutions; 2nd, Missionary institutions; 3rd, Private schools.

The Government institutions consist of three Colleges, and English and vernacular schools. The Colleges are the Elphinstone, the Poona, and the Grant Medical; in each of the two first everything is taught which is usually comprised in a collegiate course of instruction, with the exception of the Greek and Roman classics; the latter is devoted to medical instruction.* The Elphinstone College,

* The Grant Medical College was attended during the last session by 71 pupils, who were instructed by 8 Professors in the following subjects:—Anatomy and Physiology, Chemistry and Botany, Materia Medica, Medicine and Clinical Medicine, Surgery and Clinical Surgery, Midwifery, and the Diseases of Women and Children, Medical Jurisprudence, Ophthalmic Surgery.

at the end of 1854, contained 91 students, taught by four Professors, 3 European and 1 native, on the following subjects :—Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Literature, and Political Economy, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, and Geology.*

The Poona College, as now constituted, was opened in June 1851.† It consists of four departments, Vernacular, English, Sanscrit, and Normal, the latter for the purpose of training a class of students for vernacular schoolmasters.

The College funds provide 38 Foundation Scholarships, 20 Normal, and 10 Sanscrit, varying in amount from 5 to 6 rupees. With the view of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages, there are 4 Translation Exhibitions of 40 rupees each. The Professors are 9 in number—3 European, the remainder natives. The number of students at the end of 1854 is shown in the following table :—

No.	Department.	Stipendiary.	Paying.	Free Students.	Total number in each Department
1	Sanscrit Department ...	10	6	103	119
2	English ditto ...	38	132	167	337
3	Normal ditto ...	20	...	...	20
	Total...	68	138	270	476

The English schools consist of those at the Presidency and those in the Mofussil. The schools at the Presidency are a central and two branch. The central school contained, at the date of the last Report, 596 boys, who are taught by 13 masters in English, by 1 in Sanscrit, 1 in Persian, and 4 in the vernaculars. The branch schools contained at the same date 357 boys, instructed by 9 teachers in English and 3 in the vernacular languages.

* The Scholarships open to students in the Elphinstone College are 45 in number, —24 of the monthly value of 10 rupees, 12 of the value of 15 rupees, 6 of 20 rupees, and 3 of 30 rupees. Strictly speaking, they should be termed the College Division of the Elphinstone Institution, the College nominally being in subordination, but it is a "College" in all but the name.

† We have noticed the foundation of this College in a Note at page 124.

The English schools in the Mofussil, exclusive of the Poona College, are as follows :—

SURAT SCHOOL, *established 1842.*

1 English master ; 9 native teachers ; 365 scholars.

RUTNAGHERRY, *established 1845.*

1 Native master ; 45 scholars.

AHMEDABAD, *established 1846.*

1 European master ; 1 native master ; 162 scholars.

AHMEDNUGUR, *established 1848.*

1 Native master ; 63 scholars.

DHARWAR, *established 1848.*

1 Native master ; 47 scholars.

BROACH, *established 1849.*

1 Native master ; 65 scholars.

TANNAH, *established 1851.*

1 Native master ; 99 scholars.

SATTARA, *established 1852.*

1 Native master ; 100 scholars.

RAICOTE, *established 1853.*

1 Native master ; 55 scholars.

DHOOlia, *established 1853.*

1 Native master ; 77 scholars.

Branch School at Poona.—118 scholars.

—thus making, with the Elphinstone, Poona, and Grant Colleges, 17 institutions, in which instruction in English is imparted to 2,781 pupils.

The vernacular schools, like the English, consist of those at the Presidency and those in the Mofussil.

At the Presidency there are 7,—4 Mahratta, 2 Guzerattee, and 1 Hindoostanee,—containing in the aggregate 474 boys.

The vernacular schools in the Mofussil are arranged in three divisions :—

1st division, comprising the collectorates of Poona,* Ahmednuggur, Sholapoor, and Khairatpur, and the districts of Sattara ; under the superintendence of Mahadeo Govind Shastri, Esq. 6,620 pupils.

* In this division there are also 59 village schools in the Poorandhar districts of the Poona collectorate, containing 1,757 boys.

2nd division, comprising the collectorates of Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, and Kaira; under the superintendence of James Graham, Esq. 3,099 pupils.

3rd division, comprising the collectorates of Tannah, Rutnagherry, Belgaum, and Dharwar; under the superintendence of F. P. Baker, Esq. 4,351 pupils.

In the province of Katiawar, 762 pupils.

It thus appears, that at the close of 1854 there were being educated in the Government institutions 18,087 youths, 15,306 in the vernacular languages, 2,781 in English.

Of the Missionary schools the most important are those connected with the Church of Scotland. The educational institution of the Church of Scotland in Bombay was opened by the Rev. Dr. Wilson in the year 1832. In the year 1843 it was temporarily closed, upon the secession of the Missionaries to the Free Church, but in 1845 it was re-opened, and has since continued in full operation.

The annual expense of this institution is about Rs. 8,000, raised by subscription in Bombay and Scotland, by admission fees, and by the interest upon vested funds. At the present time, the institution contains 395 scholars, who are under the tuition of a European superintendent and 15 native masters. As in the Elphinstone Institution, the scholars are arranged in a college and school department. In the former they are instructed in Theology, History, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Physical Geography, Chemistry, Logic, English Classics and Composition, Drawing. In the school department instruction is carried on both in English and the vernacular languages. There is, in addition to the above institution, a Mahratta preparatory school, upon the same premises, which numbers, during the greater part of the year, 90 pupils.

The Free General Assembly's Institution was originally in connection with the Church of Scotland, but was incorporated with the Free Church in 1843. The College division contains 26 pupils, who are instructed, by three European and two native Professors, in General and Church History, Mathematics, Chemistry, Sanscrit, Theology, English Classics and Composition, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Political Economy, Vernacular Translations, Natural History, Drawing. In the school division there are 267 pupils, arranged in six classes, thus making a total of 293 pupils in the Free General Assembly's Institution. But the Free Church Mission supports vernacular schools, which, exclusive of those at Surat, contain 1,009 scholars.

There is also an English school at Poona, in connection with the Free Church, which, at the date of the last Report, contained 146

pupils. Female education has, likewise, occupied much of the attention of the Free Church Missionaries at Poona.

The Bombay or Western India Auxiliary Church Missionary Society supports a considerable number of schools. The chief of these is the "Money School," at Bombay. The highest branches of knowledge do not appear to be taught in this school, as in those conducted by the Scotch Missionaries, the object, rather, being "to afford a sound English education on such subjects as are calculated to be beneficial to such persons as usually attend this and similar institutions." Besides the English, there is a vernacular department of the "Money School." At the date of the last Report, the total number of pupils was 241,—131 in the English, and 110 in the vernacular department. The school is under the management of one of the Church of England Missionaries, assisted by 2 catechists, a native assistant teacher, 1 pundit, and 9 monitors.*

The Missionaries in the Mofussil have also schools at some of their stations, as follows :—

At Nasik, 1 English school.....	23	pupils.
„ 4 Mahratta schools.....	170	„
At Malligaum, 1 English school....	36	„
„ 1 Mahratta school.....	58	„
	287	„

There is in addition a school at Kurrachee, but it does not appear to be very flourishing.

We were anxious to have obtained some information as to the schools under the management of the American Missionaries, but we have not met with success.

Of the number of private schools in Bombay, it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain any account. An attempt was made in 1850 to ascertain the number of "vernacular schools," from which it appears that at that period there were 92 vernacular schools, including the Government and Missionary institutions. Since that period, the numbers have greatly increased.

In the year 1849, schools were opened in Bombay for the education of females, mainly through the exertions of the members of a Literary and Scientific Society, in connection with the Elphinstone Institution. From a Report read at a meeting held in April of this year, it would appear that these schools are as follows :—

* There are also vernacular schools, containing in the aggregate 1,147 boys and 223 girls,

4 Parsee.....	501 pupils.
3 Mahratta Hindoo.....	170 „
2 Guzerattee.....	65 „

739 „

There are also 6 boys' schools in connection with the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, in which there are 347 pupils.

In addition, there were, in 1849, 9 private English schools, and 1 charity school, exclusive of the Missionary institutions and the Byculla schools.

The "charity school" just noticed requires more detailed notice. It originated in the desire "of the heads of the Parsee community" to commemorate the installation of their distinguished countryman, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, into the order of Knighthood. For this purpose a sum of money was subscribed, with the view of forming a fund, to be designated "The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's Translation Fund," the interest of which was to be applied in defraying the cost of translations of European works into the Guzerattee language. This project was no sooner made known to the munificent individual we have named, than he resolved to carry out an object he had long had at heart. This was to institute a fund for the relief of the indigent of his countrymen, and the education of their children. For this purpose, Sir Jamsetjee contributed three lacs of Rupees, and 15 Shares in the Bank of Bengal; Lady Jamsetjee, 5 Shares in the Bank of Bengal; and the Parsee Punchayet, 35 Shares. The interest of this sum, amounting to Rupees 40,000 per annum, is the income of the institution. The educational department of the institution, designated "The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's Parsee Benevolent Institution," includes seminaries for the instruction of Parsee youth of both sexes in Bombay, Surat, Broach, Woodwarda, and Nowsaree.

The Central or Bombay institution consists of three departments—the School, the Academy, and the College—attended by 405, 192, and 27 pupils respectively. Instruction is conveyed in both English and the vernacular languages; and in the College division, in the higher departments of knowledge. There are also in Bombay three female schools in connection with this institution, affording instruction in the aggregate to 280 girls.

In the Mofussil the branch schools number 11, and are attended in the aggregate by 624 boys and 63 girls; thus making a total of upwards of 1,600 pupils in course of education by this noble institution.

In reviewing the progress of education during the last few years, it would be wrong to pass over a very important concession on the part

of Government, in having, after repeated solicitations, admitted the educational department to the benefits of the Pension Fund. By this judicious measure, opportunity has been afforded of substituting, to some extent, efficient teachers for the incompetent masters of the Mofussil vernacular schools. It is, moreover, a suitable acknowledgment of the services of the European gentlemen now serving in the department, whilst it affords an additional inducement for qualified persons to enter upon the task of education in this country. This boon was announced in the Report of the Board of Education for 1853-54. In the Report of the Board for the preceding year, we notice a very interesting account of the introduction of schools into the provinces of Kattiawar and Sattara. Within the last two years, a very useful addition has been made to the subjects taught in the Government institutions, by the introduction of the civil and criminal Regulations, village accounts, &c. "It was notorious," the Board observe in their Report for 1853-54, "that our students were either altogether excluded from public employment in the revenue and judicial departments, from the want of some knowledge on these subjects, or were compelled for a long time previously to attend public offices, for the purpose of acquiring such knowledge."

Perhaps, however, the most important circumstance in the history of education in this Presidency of late years, is the improvement which has taken place in the state of the finances. For many years, the expenditure had exceeded the current income of the year, the deficiency being made good out of a reserved fund, which had been formed from the unexpended portion of the grants of former years. This fund was, however, rapidly diminishing; and it became evident that either existing institutions must be diminished in number or efficiency, or the State must add to the educational grant. The latter course was followed, and the annual grant for educational purposes raised from Rs. 1,25,000 to 1,75,000. But the latter sum does not represent the total amount spent in education in the Bombay Presidency: there are special allowances for the Poona and the Grant Medical Colleges, which raise the total to Rs. 2,50,000.

It has been our object in this article to place before our readers a connected view of the progress of education in this Presidency; such a sketch will not, we think, be without a useful purpose. It might perhaps be expected that we should now enter upon a review of the principles upon which education is conducted in our institutions, pointing out defects, and suggesting means for their removal; but we have no such intention. It seems to us that there has already been too much discussion. For many years, indeed, the introduction of education into this country was an experiment to be

carefully watched and tried, and which ought not to have been fettered by the enunciation of fixed principles. There were no data upon which to found any definite scheme; the preference to be given to this or that system could only properly be determined by experience. Such data have now been collected, and the true principles seem to have been determined.

It is a curious and interesting circumstance to observe that these principles have been arrived at in this and the Bengal Presidency by different routes. In Bengal the bias was for many years in favour of the English medium; in this Presidency, of the vernacular. The relative value of the two systems, and their bearing the one upon the other, is now, we think, almost universally understood.

The ultimate object must clearly be to educate the masses in their own languages. To effect this object, a certain number of persons must in the first place be well instructed in science and literature, through the medium of English. In the course of time we may hope that translations in sufficient numbers will be made into the vernacular tongues; that the vernacular tongues will undergo some degree of improvement, so as to render them more suitable as vehicles for imparting scientific knowledge; and that a desire for knowledge will gradually be instilled into the *masses* of the people, chiefly through the influence and example of those who are now attending our colleges and schools. But we by no means think that the ruling power is to sit quietly by, and await the dawn of this happy state of things. By showing the value attached to the acquirement of knowledge by a judicious use of Government patronage—by fostering and improving indigenous schools—by establishing vernacular and English seminaries in the larger districts—by raising the condition of the peasantry by the introduction of better agricultural processes—by improvement in the means of intercommunication—by the encouragement of manufactures—by improved revenue assessments and different land tenures—they can, doubtless, do much to hasten the progress of education. It is of little use to establish schools if the poverty of the people be such that the services of the children are indispensable to the support of the family.

We think, perhaps, enough has not been done in the attempt to improve and support the indigenous schools, either in the lower provinces of Bengal or in this Presidency. In the North-Western provinces, on the other hand, from the time education was placed under the direct management of the Lieutenant Governor, much attention has been given to this subject, in the first place by Sir George Clerk, and more recently by Mr. Thomason. The principles are derived from Mr. Adams's elaborate

and valuable Report of the state of education in Bengal and Behar, but the subject seems to have been mooted so far back as the year 1815, by Lord Moira. Indeed, isolated attempts were made, but not being kept up with vigour, have failed.

We hailed with much gratification a move in what we consider the right direction, by the Board of Education here, in proposing to appropriate to this object a portion of a sum of Rs. 7,000, placed at their disposal for the promotion of education in the Satara districts.*

The system, now to be introduced, of Grants in Aid "will probably lead to a review of the existing indigenous schools, and to an extension of the very meagre support they have hitherto received from Government." One very serious defect, under which vernacular education has laboured, will doubtless be removed under the new system—viz., the want of regular periodical examinations of the schools. We believe that the vernacular schools in Guzerat were hardly once visited by a qualified inspector for nearly twenty years; and although of late there has been some improvement in this respect, still we think we may safely say inspection has not hitherto been sufficiently efficient and regular. But it will never be of much service unless those to whom it is entrusted are fully impressed with the importance and difficulty of the duty they have undertaken to perform. We have an example of this in the results of the examination of the vernacular schools in this Presidency. For long, very favourable reports of their progress were, from time to time, transmitted to the Board of Education; but at length, as Sir E. Perry says, "from some ugly facts which had peeped out here and there, a skilled inspector was despatched for the purpose of reporting upon those in Guzerat, when it became quite evident that they never could, by any possibility, have been in anything but a most unsatisfactory state."† "It is not very easy," says Sir E. Perry, "in the first instance, to form accurate conclusions on this

* Minute, 8th Report of the Board of Education, 1849.

† Much has been written and said about the wretched state of the instruction in the indigenous schools, and yet we doubt whether they would not contrast favourably with some of the national schools in England 15 or 20 years ago. An inspector of the schools in Lancashire, we think, mentions that in some of the schools, even of the first class, he was told that "Herod was the first king after the Norman conquest," that "Queen Elizabeth was of the family of David," that "the Rhine was in London"; and when the children were set to write the last six commandments, some of them put down "that thy days may belong to the land," "Thou shalt do no mardy," "Thou shalt not comet a dolly." Nor would the Pátojee contrast less favourably with the village schoolmasters. One of these worthies told the inspector that the children of his school were taught Mr. Primer's prayers; and another replied, when asked about the number of children "reading" in the school, "They don't all read regular as belongs the lasses bench."

(state of vernacular schools) subject; some observers are not very competent, others are sanguine, others good-natured."

We would further add, that only those who have made themselves acquainted, either by a course of reading or, what is better, by personal experience, with the system of management of schools in Europe, can be deemed fitted to take upon themselves the office of a school inspector. In this country an additional, and, to some extent, an indispensable qualification, is a familiarity with the vernacular languages; but we should be sorry to see too much weight attached to mere philological acquirements. If his other attainments are equal, let the preference be given to the oriental scholar. We apprehend, however, his other attainments rarely *will* be equal; for it is fair to presume, that he who has devoted a large portion of his life to the study of oriental literature, is not so well versed in other subjects, of whatever nature, as another person whose studies have not been similarly exclusive.

There is one subject to which, in our opinion, far too little attention is given—that is, physical education. We are quite aware of the difficulties opposed by climate and custom, but they do not appear to us insurmountable; and undoubtedly, if they can be surmounted, the benefit can hardly be over-rated. In a sanitary point of view, this subject is well worthy of attention; for we will venture to say, a more unhealthy, physically weak, class of individuals hardly exists in any part of the world than the educated young men of our institutions, and particularly, we would say, of the Elphinstone Institution. Not that they are absolutely so sick as to be confined to their homes,—we do not mean this,—but they are at the best never *quite well*; they are weak and sickly, rather than sick, but just in that condition in which they are liable to be acted upon by the most trivial causes of disease. The European lads and half-castes, who follow to some extent European customs, who play at cricket and other games requiring a good deal of exercise, are, notwithstanding the climate, infinitely more healthy. We may quote here a graphic description of a Hindoo youth in a Bengal school nearly twenty years ago, and which we think, *mutatis mutandis*, is equally applicable to Bombay:—

"He sits almost motionless in school from five to six hours per diem, during which time his mind is closely occupied, though the objects to which it is chained may not always be congenial to its prevailing tastes and capabilities. He is allowed to assume whatever posture he pleases, having no adviser to correct those minor, but by no means insignificant defects, to which his sedentary habits and natural distaste for bodily exertion give rise. As the growth of his body advances, he may be seen, while at his studies, constantly leaning forwards, his shoulders elevated, his head sunk between them, and keeping most of his muscles inactive. Respiration is generally imperfectly

performed, and he takes a full inspiration only when he sighs. He lives in an impure and unwholesome atmosphere, and, from being totally ignorant of the laws of health, indulges in sedentary habits and late hours. His clothing is nearly the same in summer as in winter; hence the circulation is unequally balanced, and his feet and hands, during the latter season, become unnaturally cold, from the want of their proper stimulus. His diet, though large in quantity, is insufficient in quality; and from the effects of ardent study and want of bodily exercise, his appetite, whether moderate or excessive, is greater than his power of digestion. As he reaches the period of puberty, his taste for study increases, the brain and heart become oppressed by incessant labour, and the effect of this is still further increased by the impatience and ambition which generally distinguish him. The same moral and physical cause still operating to the prejudice of his naturally enfeebled frame, he finds that medicine merely palliates, but does not cure him; so that by the time he reaches what ought to have been the prime of life, he is a confirmed hypochondriac; and in the end the body either wastes, consigning him to an early grave, or he becomes plethoric and bloated, so as to render life a burden rather than a blessing,—“living to eat, rather than eating to live.”

In conclusion, although we find so much to commend in the Elphinstone Institution, we are anxious to notice one defect, which we can hardly characterise in sufficiently strong terms: we allude to the absence of European teachers in the school department. It is well known that there is not, at the present moment, a single European schoolmaster employed in the work of teaching, in a school containing (as the school department of the Elphinstone Institution does) nearly nine hundred boys. This appears almost incredible, but such is the fact.

We have no wish to disparage the qualifications of the native young men who are employed as teachers; but we think most of our readers will agree with us, that the time has not yet arrived when, in the Central School of the Presidency—the fountain, so to speak, from which enlightenment is to spread throughout the Mofussil—the services of skilled Europeans can be dispensed with. It is far from our intention to assert that a certain amount of knowledge may not be, and indeed is not, imparted by these young men, as readily as by Europeans. We will even admit that, in this respect, they may be superior; but let any one who has had opportunities, as we have had, of becoming well acquainted with the best of the educated natives, candidly ask himself whether he has met one who can be deemed to possess those qualities which are absolutely essential for him before he can be fitted to put youths through a course of intellectual training. Is there one who has made the science of teaching a study, or indeed is, at present, capable of studying it as a science? As we have before said, we give these young men the credit of being able to impart a *certain* amount of knowledge, but surely this is a very small part of a system of education.

Is it, indeed, to be expected, that at the present time the highest amount of school education can be safely left to native agency? We do not hesitate to answer in the negative, and we are desirous of expressing a strong opinion upon this point; for it appears to us to be a most radical defect, and which, if not soon remedied, will strike at the very root of the whole system. It has not, fortunately, at present been sufficiently long in operation to have effected any great amount of mischief, still its effects are even now apparent.

The youths who are now passing through the school department of the Elphinstone Institution undoubtedly exhibit the possession of a considerable amount of knowledge. If by education is to be understood, in addition to the acquisition of knowledge, the systematic and harmonious training of the faculties, the cultivation of habits of reflection, the development of the reasoning powers, and the capacity of distinguishing the relative importance of the objects to which they should be directed, then we have little hesitation in expressing our belief that they are as yet, in many instances, almost uneducated.

We might mention many facts to show how little the faculties of the mind are developed by the course of training to which the youths in the Central Schools of the Elphinstone Institution are subjected, but we have already exceeded our limits. We would, however, anxiously guard against the impression that in these remarks we have any wish to cast reflections upon the able and talented men who are connected with the Elphinstone College. Their labours are in a higher and a wider sphere, and most successfully have their duties been performed. What the peculiar circumstances may have been which have deprived this school of the services of a staff of European teachers, we do not know; they may have been, and no doubt were, such as at the time to have rendered such deprivation unavoidable, but it clearly should not be permitted to continue.

Before these sheets have passed through the press, the whole system of "educational management" will have undergone a change, and doubtless some progress will have been made in the establishment of Universities at each Presidency. Whether the effects of these great alterations will answer the expectation of the promoters, time alone will show. We purposely abstain from any discussion upon them at present, as we think full time should be given to watch their influence and development. In this Presidency, at least, we have the satisfaction of knowing that the direction of this great national movement has been entrusted to an individual in whom, as regards fitness, universal confidence is placed.

ART. VI.—SOLDIERS ; THEIR MORALITY AND MORTALITY.

1. *Mortality and chief Diseases of the Troops under the Madras Government, European and Native.* By Lieut.-Col. W. H. SYKES, F.R.S. (from the Journal of the Statistical Society). London.
2. *The Statistical Companion.* By P. C. BANFIELD, Esq., and C. R. WELD, Esq. London : Longman & Co. 1848.
3. *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay.* Bombay : Printed at the Education Society's Press.
4. *The British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review, Vol. V. January—April, 1850.*
5. *Camp and Barrack-Room ; or the British Army as it is.* By a late Staff-Serjeant of the 13th Light Infantry. London : Chapman & Hall, 1846.
6. *Risen from the Ranks ; or conduct versus caste.* By the Rev. ERSKINE NEALE, M. A. London : Longman & Co. 1853.
7. *Discussions between the Marquis of Dalhousie and Lieut. General Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B. Also proceedings regarding the construction of barracks for the European troops.* London : Printed by order of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, by T. & H. Cox, 1854.
8. *The Military Forces and Institutions of Great Britain and Ireland : their constitution, administration, and government, Military and Civil.* By H. BYERLEY THOMPSON, Esq. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1855.

WEARIED with the exertions of prolonged warfare, and anxious to revisit their distant homes, the men of the tenth legion once demanded of Cæsar that they should receive their discharge and the rewards promised to them for their faithful service. The ambitious general's predicament was awkward, the danger to himself and his country imminent ; but he was well acquainted with the arts by which people contrive to obtain power, and had diligently studied the feelings and tempers of soldiers. Unrestrained by their mutinous tendencies he hastened to address them ; yet he only spoke one word. We can imagine the change of his majestic features, the wrinkling of his

expansive brow, the flashing of his eye, the curl of his scornful lip, as, throwing his whole energy into the word, he exclaimed, "Quirites!" He called them townspeople, and thus he cowed them. They quailed like boys under the lash; "We are not townspeople," replied the whimpering warriors, "we are soldiers,"—they spoke not in anger, nor in arrogance; they were only anxious to clear their characters from reproach. Their demand for pay and retirement was indefinitely postponed; to prove that they were not townspeople, the humbled legionaries followed their Emperor into Africa.

Why did a Roman soldier think himself so very superior to a Roman townsman, and feel disgraced by being ranked amongst the Quirites? Before his name was enrolled in the army he had perhaps occupied a very low position in society, for since the age of Sylla recruits had been drawn from all classes. But when he became a legionary, "he imbibed the useful prejudice," as Gibbon says, "that he was advanced to the more dignified profession of arms"; from that time he was the representative of his country's genius, the warrior of a warrior-race; he pitied and despised all who followed the arts of peace; his call was to a life of generous hardihood endured for the sake of Rome—to bivouac in the deserts of Africa or marshes of Germany; on his valour depended the glory of the Roman name, and his shield was thrown over the mistress of the world to protect her from the invasions of her barbarous foes.

The soldier, who guards the repose and crushes the disturbers of the British Empire, is comparatively a mean individual, whether he be taken at his own or others' estimate. Externally indeed he presents an imposing appearance, and his bearing seems to demonstrate the axiom, which a very high authority once laid down, that every private is a gentleman. Observe him on parade, or at certain hours walking for exercise on the public thoroughfares; no careless slovenly lounge is he; his neck and knowledge-box are fixed rigidly on his shoulders, and his demeanour would in other persons be the index of a conscious pride; his faultless dress and orderly behaviour would, if exhibited by a civilian of his rank, be considered in themselves satisfactory evidences of respectability; and as for a dragoon, hussar, or lancer—the man is known to create a sensation in the minds of the uninitiated, and to be a lamp of attraction round which servant girls flutter with infatuated delight. But how different the spectacle when all this frippery is torn away! What is the tragic actor, when a bailiff has slipped behind the scenes? No longer an Emperor in coronation robes, he appears in his true character as a broken-hearted debtor, and may soon be seen drinking himself drunk with gin and bitters in a sponging-house. We see the soldier too when no longer under the eye of a superior, and he is then stripped of his respecta-

bility. We discover that the estimate taken of him by the public is low, and—what is worse—still lower is the estimate taken by himself. In England a thriving costermonger tells you that he thinks nothing of such a chap—“he is only a sojer,”—and in India a high-caste native speaks of the “soljer loke” with indescribable contempt, as though they were of different flesh and blood from the Collector Sahib, or his covenanted and uncovenanted, circumcised and uncircumcised assistants. “A Staff-Serjeant” has indeed plainly said, that a soldier is as a being of inferior species—as the pariah of the body politic, and thought to be almost incapable of moral or social improvement. The poor fellows themselves exhibit at times a touching humility, and when we have tried to set before them a standard of excellence, have asked, “Who cares for us?” adding—perhaps, “other people may be religious, but how can us poor despised men be so?”

We will quote two passages from competent writers, who compare lucidly and succinctly British and foreign troops, and express the reasons why the moral and social conditions of the former are so depressed. Mr. Byerley Thompson, who must be regarded as the latest and best-informed authority on the subject, draws in outline the picture, which is filled up and completed by Mr. Kay. After stating that the continental powers permit both forced and voluntary enlistment, and that as they have no colonies their troops are not required to expatriate themselves, excepting the French in Algiers, Mr. Thompson declares that in comparison with these the British army labours under serious disadvantages, and consequently—

“Those persons of a better class, who, as we are told, are to be found in the ranks of other armies, are rarely found in ours; except in instances where a young man has been induced by misfortunes, brought on most commonly by his own folly or intemperance, to escape from them by enlistment. It is found that those who have so enlisted do not commonly turn out the best soldiers, or the most easy to bring under proper discipline; nor do they set an example of good conduct to their comrades.

“The great body of our recruits consists of the inhabitants of large towns, and of agricultural labourers. These last appear generally to enter the army in consequence of some family difficulty, or some scrape in which they are involved, or from some temporary difficulty of obtaining work; when they have undergone the necessary preparation of the drill, they become the best and most trustworthy soldiers. Those who come from the manufacturing districts, and large towns are too frequently the most idle and dissolute; they require all the means in the power of their officers to correct the intemperate and vicious habits in which they have indulged, and to teach them that subordination is the first duty in the profession into which they have entered.

“In an army thus composed, it is scarcely necessary to point out the evils of a relaxed state of discipline. It has not within itself those moral means which are supposed, and probably with truth, to exist in an army recruited by conscription of all classes, namely, the example and advice afforded by the more educated to those who are less so. The constant vigilance of their

officers in giving advice, and in correcting by slight and minor punishments the first approaches to insubordination, joined to the prompt application of such a punishment as is likely, while it corrects the offender, to make him an example in the eyes of his comrades in cases of a more serious nature, can alone make such an army tolerable, not only to the inhabitants of the country in which it is, but even to the individuals of that army itself. A very few persons in a company can, and very often do, by their violence and bad conduct render the lives of the rest uneasy and uncomfortable."

Mr. Kay, a sagacious observer and diligent inquirer, in his work on "The social condition, and education of the people," writes as follows :—

"It must not be supposed that the character of the soldiers of foreign armies is like that of our own. In our country, the soldiers are generally men of habits not sufficiently steady and industrious to enable them to succeed in the ordinary avocations of life, or men who do not like to depend upon their own independent exertions. They are too often the worst specimens of our peasants, or of the idle population of our towns. Their barrack life is not distinguished for any strict morality; on the contrary, the neighbourhood of a regiment with us is proverbially bad, and is carefully avoided by families. This is not to be wondered at. The sober domestic man, who loves a home, will not in England choose a soldier's life, where he must, in the majority of cases, either give up all idea of marrying, or separate from his wife, and leave her unprotected and alone. It is, therefore, the men who do not care for wives or domestic comforts who generally, with us, seek the army. Whilst, therefore, it may be fairly questioned whether it is not better for the community to draw away from the villages and towns the class of men who most naturally and generally seek the army in England, and to subject them to a severe daily drill, and to constant surveillance, and although it may be that this class of men make the bravest and the most daring soldiers, yet it is not to be wondered at that their barrack life is dissolute, notwithstanding strict watchfulness on the part of the officers; nor is it great matter of wonder, if such men often contaminate and injure one another. Our barrack life would not, therefore, be likely to improve the people."

But is the fact, that there is no conscription in England, a sufficient reason why only the idle and dissolute should volunteer for military service? How is it that the army offers no attractions to that large portion of respectable persons who have a passion for enterprise and adventure? The reason usually assigned is, that the British are not a martial people, but engrossed in commercial and agricultural pursuits—postulate the truth of which we question, whilst we utterly deny the conclusions which are drawn from it. We do not indeed, as a nation, pursue military glory with the same ardour as the French, but we are not, on that account, what the Imperial conqueror styled us, 'a nation of shopkeepers.' It is a paradox to maintain that a people, whose arms have been extended over a wider range of territory than that which owned the sway of Rome—a people on whose empire the sun never sets—have no martial propensities. We have been involved in constant wars; and when we talk of the long

peace which England enjoyed before the aggression of Russia, seem to forget that during that period we fought the battle of Navarino and humbled Turkey, checked the ambition of Mehemet Ali and destroyed his strongholds; that after victories and successful sieges, a powerful army marched to Kabul, and then was overwhelmed with a disaster which made the whole nation suffer like Augustus when in the wailings of sleep he cried, "Venus, give me back my legions"; that we invaded and dictated terms of peace to the gigantic empire of China, conquered Sind and the compact kingdom of the five rivers, dismembered Burmah, appropriating to ourselves her choicest possession—all these, besides a galling warfare in South Africa, raids upon Chinese and Malay pirates, skirmishes in New Zealand and the mountainous districts of India, and the share which our officers took in the Spanish and Portuguese wars of succession—all these prove that, although our comfortable citizens found themselves in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity, the gates of Janus were not really closed; and that, while the heart of the nation was quiet, its claws were drawing the life-blood of barbarians. And although it may be perfectly true that we, as a people, are distinguished for a spirit of commercial enterprise, it is yet a palpable error to say that we have no warlike propensities. The best of our peasants and mechanics do not indeed select for themselves the profession of a soldier; no, nor did even Roman citizens, for their Emperor complained bitterly that none but paupers and vagabonds would volunteer for their army.* Yet the social position of the Roman soldier was high, that of the British soldier is low; and we cannot account for the latter by our supposed want of belligerent tendencies.

What is the ordinary character of military recruits? Is it a fact that respectable men will not relinquish their agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits at the call of the recruiting sergeant; and are soldiers in consequence chiefly drawn from the idle and dissipated, who abhor honest labour and regular employment? Every scapegrace who may now see placarded in large letters on a wall, WANTED A FEW YOUNG MEN OF GOOD CHARACTER, knows that if he offers to accept the shilling, he will be troubled with investigations, not into his moral qualifications, but into his thews and sinews; and is it then true, as has been plainly stated, that the army becomes a conduit through which the pollution of the country flows?

Recruits may be divided into three classes: the first is composed

* "*Plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant*;" that only such came forward was, according to Tacitus, the complaint of Tiberius—*Annal.* iv. 4; and Horace (*lib. iii. od. 6*) contrasts the military youth of his day with the "*rusticorum mascula militum proles*" of former ages.

of men whose follies and vices have alienated them from their friends, and rendered them unfit for the duties of civil life; the second, of those who have been impelled by want to seek in the ranks a means of subsistence; the third, of those who, from an ardent spirit of enterprise and love of adventure, adopt the profession of their choice. Perhaps the first is the largest class, but numbers of Irish are included in the second, and there is a decided, although not large, proportion of the third. The intellectual and moral standards of the mass are low, but by no means hopelessly so. Probably one-third of them can read and write with tolerable fluency;* some are ready-made ruffians, whose behaviour and language are foul and abominable; others are sober men, it may be of generous and sanguine temperaments, who are honorably ambitious of winning their way to distinction.

Here is a rough mass of incongruous materials; the question is, whether in the army the gold is extracted from the sand and quartz—whether the good are moulded into shape, and even the bad turned to some account, or whether both are in a moral sense debased. That a marvellous change comes over the outward bearing of all, none can doubt. Slouched rolling clowns are converted into ornamental members of society; heavy gaping yokers learn to answer a question with such smartness and readiness as would astonish their old companions. The army certainly makes men out of louts; but does it make good men of them? It is a lathe which answers admirably well for shaping flesh and blood; but what influence has it on the mind and soul?

Perhaps the very attention paid to the external appearance sometimes interferes with moral progress. Cases often occur when solid qualities are less valued than tinsel vanity, when a pair of black whiskers, spruce waist and chest, well-turned legs, and withal a clear ringing voice, carry away the palm from rigid honesty and sobriety. Sergeant Smart has a manly abhorrence of all prudishness; he will clink a cannikin with the best, make a marine out of a bottle of brandy, and swear at a recruit as if there were no God in heaven. What chance against such a man has Private Gobbler, with his round honest face, ungainly figure, water-drinking, and psalm-singing? The worthy man would do better for himself if he would wait for his virtue until he can get his discharge, and in the meanwhile season his manners—yet not too highly—with a spice of the devil.

Before addressing ourselves to the point of this article, and marshalling our facts, we wish to make candidly and fully two admissions, which we confidently hope will dispose the reader to think

* Miss Nightingale places the average very much below this. It has been calculated, she writes, that one in five of the men in hospital at Scutari can read.

favourably of soldiers, and of those by whom their earthly destinies are influenced. The first admission is, that every allowance is to be made for soldiers, because they are placed in peculiar and most trying circumstances. Wherever men live together, for purposes not distinctly moral or religious, vice has as much a tendency to spread as the cholera or the plague. Even where the object has been devotion, as in monasteries and convents, and where much time is really occupied in the exercises of religion, evil is ever creeping in, and in some instances gaining a terrible mastery. What then must be the consequence, where there is an assemblage of men whose physical qualities have alone been considered, who are only called to the labour of guarding a post, perfecting themselves in drill, or cleaning their accoutrements, and the greater portion of whom are not permitted to live in the married state? Of course the scabby sheep must spread contagion in such a flock, and one reckless partisan of debauchery must carry on successfully a guerilla warfare against the morals of the whole, unless ingenuity, activity, and resolution are shown in their defence. Then these troops of bachelors are either in their prime, have not attained to it, or are not far advanced beyond it; the feelings of manhood are in their full flow, and ready like a swollen torrent to bear down all barriers. In other men such strong active propensities may, by wise management, be turned from the mud into a pure and undefiled channel; and even soldiers, when so disposed, may occasionally in England escape from rude troublesome comrades, to those examples of goodness which are always to be found amongst the industrious poor. But in India there is a military surfeit and unrelieved monotony. Sir Guyon, or temperance, rarely finds a wise palmer with whom to associate in his struggles against Acrasia or the elfin brood; exercise even is prohibited at certain times in consequence of the heat; and the young occupant of a barrack-room has, for his constant companions, two men whose cots are placed right and left of his—two hardened reprobates, perhaps, who are well employed at noon-day if only sleeping, and not hatching mischief for the evening. What can the poor lad do? What is life without excitement? He should be improving himself, says Mr. Wiseman; if his body is not employed, there is more reason why his mind should be. Yes, Sir, your words are correct, but your conclusion absurd. He does employ his mind; the spirit within us all is more or less active, and even if a man contrives to doze away nine-tenths of his life, the remaining one-tenth will be a busy time of evil. But we, who sit in our library on a spring-chair, with a capacious table before us, and books of reference by our side, cannot share the studies of the soldier. He has been educated in the regimental school, perhaps it would have been as well for him

if he had not,—for the ignorant man having more capacity for sleep than the half-educated one, and never having had his mental powers roused, is often in the army, and in the army alone, less mischievous than the other. But the one of whom we write has become “a scholar,” one of those shrewd, well-informed men who abound in the ranks, and do you suppose that on that account he can be engaged in such reading as requires thought? What, amidst that clatter!—when No. 75 is telling all about the fight which came off last night, when 82 is half drunk, and creating immense fun by his slabbering talk, when Harry Jones’s bull-terrier has just opened a serious quarrel with a neighbour, and Bill Sykes’s cockatoo, having escaped from his perch, is screaming like a madman? No; he cannot make more of his Rule of Three or Tota Kahance in such a din, than could Hogarth’s “enraged musician” make of a new opera; but he can find refuge in the dreamland of a three-volume novel which he procures from the library, in the knavish feats of Jack Sheppard, or the terrific crash of a twopenny melodrama; and no man living was ever any better for reading such books. When they are put aside, what does the soldier begin to talk about? About his wife, children, parents, or brothers? He has none; or he has tried with partial success to forget his home. Or about the beauties of Shakspeare? the state of literature? “the development of the resources of the country”? You know well enough where his inclinations tend. He has passions uncurbed, he has tastes—about which the less we say the better—to be indulged, and they suggest the theme on which he and his friends readily make discursive treatises. Poor fellow! Never overlook the soldier’s trials and his strong temptations. But what then? Is that a reason for leaving him alone? Some people talk as if the case were beyond hope, and they could not tolerate any attempt at cure; as if barrack-life were a maelstrom, and when a man is once drawn into its vortex he were out of the moralist’s and philanthropist’s reach. “Ah!” say those who profess to be the soldier’s friends; “if you knew as much as we know, you would merely wonder that soldiers are as good as they are.” And so we do wonder; and we know that they cannot be better if there are many such feeble traitors to plead their cause; if their allies and leaders give up the struggle, and in despair throw their weapons of truth away; if instead of being opponents of evil, they become unarmed helpless dastards. Let every allowance be made for the soldier, but for the sake of all that is pure and noble, for pity’s sake, try to arm him against himself or against his low passions, to cultivate the many noble qualities which God has sown in his British heart, and to make him as good and true a man as you hope one day to make yourself.

Our second admission is this: we acknowledge with great thankfulness that in late years very much has been done for soldiers. What is called the good-conduct-warrant, has been an important encouragement to steadiness and sobriety; the establishment of Regimental Savings' Banks then suggested provident habits; then there was the abolition of corporal punishment, except in a few reserved cases; the system of school instruction has been much improved, and Normal Schools have been established; there are libraries, reading-rooms, and coffee-rooms; rations are of better quality; barracks are more spacious and better ventilated; regiments are marched to new stations at regulated periods; men are encouraged to employ themselves in sedentary trades, and to amuse themselves with fives, cricket, long-bullets, quoits, or chess, backgammon, and draughts; the abominable system of serving out every day to each man his dram, and that before breakfast, is altered, and malt liquor has been introduced;—in brief, the comfort, health, and even the moral condition of the men, have been studied with careful diligence and disinterested liberality. Yet there are few of these reforms which have not been abused. Palms of good conduct are won and lost with strange indifference, and the value of the distinguishing chevrons seems rather on the decrease. The object of Savings' Banks is lost sight of when they are used only to accumulate money for a carouse. Libraries are stocked with vulgar trash which roughens or disturbs, and with fashionable novels which debilitate the mind. Coffee is washed down with arrack; or a regulated allowance of three imperial quarts of porter creates the want of a dram from the bazar. The facilities and inducements for prosecuting trades are insufficient. As for the men's health, that is a subject to which we shall now turn our whole attention, that we may discuss it carefully and in detail.

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Although we can in no case determine the exact relation, as of cause and effect, between the morality and mortality of any people, we can in all cases declare that *there is* such a relation, that laxity of morals has a tendency to shorten the period of human life, and purity has a corresponding tendency to longevity. Moreover, after due allowance has been made for the influences of climate, locality, drainage, ventilation, and the particular vocations and employments of any population, a consideration of its vital statistics will enable us to form certain proximate estimates of its general habits; and the argument is complete if we can obtain an intermediate link, and show that the amount of sickness has been regulated by its virtuous or vicious propensities. This we are able to do in the case of European soldiers, and we believe that we can arrive at tolerably certain results.

The annual and centesimal proportion of mortality from disease amongst European troops in the three Presidencies of India, is shown, in a return made by order of the House of Commons, dated 16th June 1845, to have been in twenty years 7.38 for Bengal, 3.846 for Madras, and 5.078 for Bombay. The variations of different years are not a little remarkable, for although in 1825 the ratio of deaths in the Presidency of Madras reached 11.839 per cent., it was in 1844 as low as 2.600 per cent. ; and there were also variations, although not so considerable as this, in Bengal and Bombay. It is gratifying to observe that within the last quarter of a century there has been a slight but decided diminution of mortality in the three Presidencies, so that in the years 1825, 1826, and 1827, it was higher than it has ever been since. The following return for five years shows an improved condition of the troops in Madras and Bombay, not so of those in Bengal :—

Year.	Centesimal proportion of deaths in Bengal.	Centesimal proportion of deaths in Madras.	Centesimal proportion of deaths in Bombay.
1845... ..	6.21	3.62	8.30
1846... ..	5.04	3.64	9.32
1847... ..	4.49	3.08	3.01
1848... ..	5.25	1.64	2.51
1849... ..	7.13	2.24	4.60

It may be a little satisfaction to the reader's curiosity, if we annex a statement of the mortality amongst persons in the Honorable Company's Civil Service; but we would have it clearly understood, that we do not pretend to determine how far any comparison between such mortuary returns and those of soldiers holds good. Civilians have the means of procuring superior diet, with the best protection from the climate, and when on their journeys they do not necessarily endure privations and fatigue—in these respects they have greatly the advantage of soldiers. On the other hand, they are compelled to visit at times the unhealthiest districts, which European troops never penetrate, and the period during which they ordinarily reside in India is far prolonged beyond that which entitles a soldier to his discharge. Hence, whilst a very small proportion of soldiers remain 20 years with their regiments, we find, in the Bengal Civil List, Company's servants of 50 years standing, and in the Madras and Bombay Lists, servants of 35 years. There is, therefore, an antecedent probability that a larger proportion of civilians than of soldiers would die in harness.

According to a statement made by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the mortality of civilians in the twenty years between 1809 and 1828 inclu-

five, was at the rate of 2.51 per cent. in Bengal, 2.51 in Madras, and 3.17 in Bombay. The following table shows for thirty years the deaths of Bombay civilians as compared with their strength, which includes only those who were actually in the country, and not such as were absent on furlough :—

Year.	Strength.	Deaths.	Year.	Strength.	Deaths.	Year.	Strength.	Deaths.
1825	139	1	1835	127	4	1845	102	2
1826	138	5	1836	131	2	1846	106	2
1827	137	7	1837	129	4	1847	102	2
1828	137	2	1838	130	3	1848	103	1
1829	135	2	1839	124	5	1849	110	1
1830	136	3	1840	122	3	1850	113	4
1831	139	6	1841	117	2	1851	114	1
1832	142	1	1842	120	2	1852	106	2
1833	141	6	1843	107	4	1853	107	4
1834	139	4	1844	105	5	1854	114	3
Total for ten years.	1,383	37	.....	1,212	34	.....	1,077	22

Arranging them according to decades, we have—

Decade.	Strength.	Deaths.	Centesimal proportion of deaths.
First	1,383	37	2.67
Second	1,212	34	2.80
Third	1,077	22	2.04
Total ...	3,672	93	2.51

The plan which we now propose to ourselves in further discussing our subject is this : Having seen the general mortality of soldiers in India, we shall take a glance at them in each of the three Presidencies, and then examine the accounts which have been published of particular corps, together with the evidence which can be adduced to show the state and causes of disease. From this we shall proceed to examine criminal and other statistics, so as to draw conclusions from them respecting the habits of European troops.

We shall then point out the class of men to whom the attention of military reformers should be especially directed; and finally, we shall enter upon the most difficult, but we trust not hopeless portion of our task, and attempt to offer suggestions for the remedy of acknowledged evils.

We begin by subjoining a table which shows the sickness and mortality of 16,180 European troops in Bengal, for the year 1847-48, as compared with their length of residence in this country.

Period of residence in India.	Strength of each Class.	Admissions to Hospital of each Class.	Deaths of each Class.	Centesimal proportion of deaths.
- Under 1 year	2,273	2,013	133	5.85
1 to 3 years	3,509	8,359	217	6.18
3 to 5 „	1,380	6,766	198	4.52
5 to 7 „	2,880	4,410	122	4.23
7 to 10 „	1,716	2,720	81	4.64
10 to 14 „	678	1,516	25	3.69
14 to 20 „	655	1,006	23	3.51
Above 20 „	49	78	1	2.04
Born in India	10	11	1	10.00
Total	16,180	26,879	801	4.95

A Bengal officer reports that from the year 1840 to 1848 only 33 men died at a certain station from fever, but 41 died of delirium tremens; and in a strength of 3,451 men there were 2,375 cases of drunkenness. At the delightful station of Kussowli, six men of H. M.'s 29th Regiment died in September 1845, including three from delirium tremens, because, as Lieut. Col. Congreve remarks, "the twelve months' donation batta was paid on the 14th of this month." It was thought a sufficient reason to account for soldiers drinking themselves to death, when it was said that *they had got some money!*

We owe it to the ingenuity and labour of Colonel Sykes, which must have been set at work by the purest motives, that we are able to examine and analyse numerous tables referring to European troops in the Presidency of Madras, and showing, not only their sickness and mortality, but also certain causes to which much of both may be traced. They make it quite clear, that although a considerable amount of illness is the result of climatorial influence, much more is the result of sin. Fevers, which are so dreaded in India, caused, at the worst station, only a little more than one per cent. of the deaths, and in Hyderabad alone did liver complaint cause seven-tenths of the deaths. As it would not be suitable to our pages, if we were to "specify the names of some diseases with the precision which distin-

gushes statistical writers, we must content ourselves with including a certain class under the head of "diseases which arise directly from licentiousness."

Period.	Strength.	Admissions to Hospital.	Deaths from all causes.	Admissions from diseases caused directly by intemperance.	Deaths from this cause.	Admissions from Cholera.	Deaths from Cholera.
Five years, from 1812 to 1846...	59,218	40,997	2,284	11,201	29	1,241	609
1847	11,439	17,895	337	3,401	4	32	22
1848	9,679	17,299	174	3,484	5	3	2
1849	9,559	15,589	215	3,901	5	13	26

As compared with Bengal and Bombay, the mortality in the Presidency of Madras is low ; but the reports from almost all the medical officers there concur in stating that "the chief cause of mortality and crime is drunkenness." Colonel Sykes, however, states that no exertion appeared to be spared "to withdraw the European troops from habits of intemperance, by canteen regulations, by encouraging temperance societies in regiments, by supplying malt liquor to the men so cheap that they may prefer it to spirits, and by affording them physical and intellectual amusements." Still the consumption of intoxicating liquors there is prodigious, as will be seen by the following statement of the quantity sold during one year in the canteen of a single regiment :—

ARRACK.		BRANDY.*	GIN.	BELR.	PORTER.
Gallons.*	Drams.	Bottles.	Bottles.	Bottles.	Bottles.
7,679	2	802	270	5,613	2,511

This regiment, it should be observed, was 892 strong, and had a teetotal society of 153 members, and a temperance society of 80 members.

To this we add two tables which will show, at a glance, the effect which temperance has both as regards morality and mortality.

* There are 10 drams to a gallon.

Table showing the influence of temperance ON MORTALITY amongst the European troops of Madras, including the 15th Hussars, H. M.'s 25th, 51st, 81th, and 94th Regiments, and the 1st Madras Fusiliers.

Year.		Strength.	Centesimal proportion of admissions to Hospital	Centesimal proportion of deaths
1849...	Tototallers...	450	130.888	1.111
	Temperate ...	1,318	141.593	2.315
	Intemperate...	942	211.861	4.158

Table showing the influence of temperance ON CRIME AND PUNISHMENT in Madras amongst the Artillery Corps, H. M.'s 15th, 25th, 51st, 81th, and 94th Regiments, and the Honble Company's 1st and 2nd European Regiments.

Year.		Strength	Punished by Commanding Officers and Captains.	Punished by Regimental, District, and General Courts Martial.	Total.	Centesimal proportion of numbers punished.
1849	Tototallers ...	671	156	3	159	23.605
	Temperate ...	6,611	3,733	143	3,882	58.720
	Intemperate ...	1,431	2,269	289	2,498	170.978

On the whole, as the mortality is less, so also the morality of the European troops in the Presidency of Madras seems to be decidedly in advance of those who are in the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay.

As regards Bombay, taking the returns of mortality for five stations between the years 1830 and 1846, we perceive that the smallest number of deaths occurred at Belgaum, the largest at Bombay. The centesimal proportions are thus given us in the Medical Society's Report:—

BELGAUM.	POONA.	DRESSA.	ADEN.	BOMBAY.
2.8667	3.2115	3.2608	3.7380	9.6204

Such is Mr. Webb's result; Colonel Jameson's is somewhat different, and is curious as showing a distinction between the

mortality of the Hon'ble Company's European troops taken by themselves, and that of her Majesty's and the Company's troops conjoined. Thus, at the five stations before mentioned, between the years 1830 and 1840 inclusive, the centesimal proportion of deaths in Company's troops were, at

BELGAUM.	POONA.	DEESA.	ADEN.	BOMBAY AND COLABA.
3.3391	3.3551	2.3017	3.1490	12.5144

But the deaths of Queen's and Company's troops conjoined were, at

BELGAUM.	POONA.	DEESA.	ADEN.	BOMBAY AND COLABA.
2.7547	4.1193	3.4338	2.990	10.9209

At Kirkee, during the same period, the centesimal proportion was only 2.7217.

No one can read these reports without being painfully struck with the fatality which attends soldiers in Bombay, although its climate is not considered injurious beyond that of other places in India, to ordinary constitutions. Such appalling returns have of course attracted the notice of Government, and been commented upon by the Court of Directors; but we are rather surprised that they have not observed the curious antagonism which there is, in one respect, between the reasons and facts of those whose reports they quote. At the period when the returns were made, a considerable number of troops of the line were quartered in the Fort of Bombay; others in the barracks of Colaba. Now when medical and military men are asked to account for the great mortality of Bombay and Colaba, they attribute it to the defective construction of the barracks on Colaba, or to their low situation, or to the unhealthiness of the climate of Colaba; yet it is proved that a far worse mortality prevailed in the Fort; therefore, we say that the reasons and the facts are diametrically opposed the one to the other. But this will be clear when we see what is stated regarding Colaba. The following is part of a letter, dated 22nd November 1841, forwarded by the Government of Bombay to the Court of Directors:—

"We do ourselves the honour to submit, for the consideration of your Honorable Court, the series of our proceedings relating to the extreme unhealthiness of the European troops composing the garrison of Bombay, more particularly of that portion of them which has been quartered in the barracks on the contiguous island of Colaba; and to the measures which we have in consequence found it necessary to adopt.

"2. Your Honourable Court will observe that, on the 13th September 1839, the Major General at that time commanding the forces at this Presidency presented to the Government a report, drawn up by the Deputy Inspector General of Her Majesty's Hospitals, upon the state of the barracks at Colaba, Kirkee, and Poona. Those at Colaba, Dr. Loinsworth condemned in the strongest language, pronouncing them to be of the worst description, as regards both locality and construction; and he recommended, as the only effectual

mode of correcting the evils attending upon their existing state, that they should be pulled down, and rebuilt upon arches raised seven or eight feet from the ground, the space under the arches being flagged, to admit of the men parading there in cool weather, and the floors of the barrack rooms constructed of wood. In the event of this extreme measure being rejected as impracticable, the Inspector proposed some other confessedly doubtful and imperfect remedies, such as raising the floors and the height of the walls, the use of a better description of stone for pavement, and the removal of offensive nuisances, which are calculated to injure the health of the men.

"3. This report attracted the serious attention of Government, and, on the 2nd January 1840, the Military Board submitted their opinion upon it. The expense of pulling down and reconstructing the Colaba barracks, as proposed by the Inspector, was estimated at Rs. 1,21,381 5as. 7p. The expense attending the modified remedies, proposed by the alteration of the present buildings, was estimated at a nearly equal amount; and the Board then proceeded, with reference to Dr. Loinsworth's remark that 'the expense would be soon repaid by the decrease of sick, and consequent corresponding decrease in the mortality of troops,' to state it as 'a received opinion, based on experience, that Colaba is so damp and bleak in the monsoon, that it would continue to be unhealthy at that season under any circumstances, and that any outlay, however large, of the public money, would not effect the object of Dr. Loinsworth's anxiety.' The report of the Military Board concluded with this observation, that 'although the suggestions of Dr. Loinsworth might be calculated to add to the comfort of the troops quartered in the barracks, they did not concur in the necessity of the alterations recommended.'

"4. The Medical Board, in a report dated the 20th January, 1840, agreed with the Military Board that it would be inexpedient to lay out so large a sum of money as would be required for the proposed alterations in the general construction of the barracks and hospital at Colaba; as experience had proved the situation inimical to the health of the European troops, not only during the monsoon, but at other seasons. Although some mitigation of the effect of the climate might be the result of the alterations suggested, yet they were of opinion that it would be better, if a convenient and more favourable site could be found, to abandon the present barracks altogether, and construct new ones, than to be at so great an expense without some certainty of an adequately favourable result."

The conclusion arrived at, it will be observed, is, that not only are the barracks ill-constructed, but the particular locality of Colaba is highly pernicious to the health of European troops. And this is the opinion which the Court in consequence entertain, for they begin their reply to the letter from Bombay by saying:—"It is clear to us, after an attentive consideration of the documents which accompany the letter under reply, especially the able and judicious report of the Medical Board,* (able and judicious, we may remark in passing, because they do not recommend an outlay of money,) that the unhealthiness of Colaba is not so much attributable to defects in the construction of the barracks, as to climate, &c." Yet in 1848 a Committee of "very competent and experienced officers," as stated in Viscount Falkland's minute, having met to consider this question, "took a more favorable view of the climate, and "expressed their con-

viction from observation, inquiry, and experience, that the unhealthiness *does not appertain to the island generally*, but to the barracks and the ground on which they stand." After all, however, in 1852, the island is once more condemned; for in their letter dated 2nd June of that year, the Court write:—"We observe that the great loss of life at Colaba is attributed by Deputy Inspector General Thom mainly to deleterious effects of moisture in the air during the south-west monsoon. He is of opinion that, on this account, Colaba can never be made a healthy station." So here we have one authority tracing the alarming mortality to ill-ventilated barracks; another saying, You may ventilate the barracks as you please, yet they will not be healthy unless you build them on a better site; and a third steps in just to say, that neither ventilation nor alteration of the site would mend the matter much, for the air of the island is so laden with moisture, that its climate must always be fatal to European troops. Nevertheless, if we may be permitted to employ logical phrases—here are a genus and three species, and that which is true of the species separately must be true of the genus; therefore, if the bad ventilation is unhealthy, the site unhealthy, and the climate unhealthy—it follows from each and all that the barracks of Colaba must be unhealthy. This, we conceive, is what Mr. Newman would call a perfect or dialectic induction.

And yet, strange to say, after all these quotations to show that the mortality of Bombay and Colaba must be traced, not to the Fort where a portion of Europeans were quartered, but to Colaba where the other portion were quartered—there remains this fact, that the mortality in the Fort, with its dry, well-ventilated barracks, is much larger than the mortality in Colaba. Thus in their letter of June 1841, the Court write:—"The barracks in the Fort appear to be quite unobjectionable in their structure; they are lofty, dry, and well-ventilated; and yet the soldiers quartered in them appear to have suffered as much, if not more, from sickness and mortality than those quartered in Colaba";* and the Government of Bombay, in a letter dated 4th July 1851, tell the Court that, if the returns of twenty years are taken, it will be found that the average annual mortality of Colaba "has been at the rate of 81, and of the Fort no less than 152 in every thousand men."

It is absurd, then, to account for the large mortality which prevailed in Colaba, and the larger which prevailed in the Fort, by supposing that the source is in Colaba alone. Manifestly, we ought to

* We are here tempted to ask, Who "does" the English for the Honorable Court? What is the correlative sentence to "the soldiers have suffered as much"? As for the expression "suffered from sickness and mortality," *lege nostra periculo*, "suffered sickness and mortality," *et dele* "from." People do not suffer from mortality; on the contrary, it is the end of all the ills which flesh is heir to.

look for a cause which operates with activity both in Colaba and the Fort, and more particularly in the latter. But before doing so we must admit that in the early returns there is a gigantic fallacy, which is pointed out by Dr. Hall, and further exposed by the Court, in their letter dated 21st December 1853; for previous to 1847 large numbers of sick and wounded sent from Sind, soldiers who had died at sea, and others who had been brought from Europe in unhealthy seasons, were included in the returns. Thus when H. M.'s 86th Regiment arrived from England in September 1842, they were attacked by cholera, and 90 men perished—79 of whom were included in the mortality returns for Colaba, and 11 in those for Bombay; and the only troops in Colaba the whole of that year were invalids and small detachments brought from Sind, so that there were 98 deaths, out of an average strength of 144 men. And in 1845, H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, having suffered severely at Sukkur from fever and dysentery, were brought to the Presidency, where they only remained from the 4th March to the 7th of April; but during that period the quarterly returns were made, and 276 deaths, out of a strength of 468 men, were reported, all of which appear as having occurred at Bombay; yet the fact is, that only 24 occurred there; and even those were the result of disease contracted in Sind. We must, therefore, admit that little dependence can be placed upon the tables compiled at the periods indicated.

Still the ratio of mortality at the Presidency continues awfully large, and must, we repeat, be traced to a cause which is active both in the Fort and Colaba. It may indeed be partly attributed to the circumstances that the fresh troops from England, which are landed here, contract diseases before they are acclimatised; that at certain seasons invalids from the Mofussil are lodged in the Artillery barracks in the Fort, and Queen's Depot at Colaba; and that, although the heat is peculiarly steamy and exhausting, the troops stationed here are harassed by too frequent duties. Yet these causes will now only account for a slight increase of mortality. The number of invalids and fresh troops who die annually, is small; and if we admit that the men have too much work both by night and day, yet their fatigues are not so severe as those endured on a march, when they often remain in perfect health. Besides, if they were really perishing from the effects of intolerable labour, we may be quite sure that a strong representation of their hard case would be made by the medical department, and be attended to by the military authorities. No; the true causes of death are those *spirituous* traditions, which for centuries have been handed down from old to young soldiers; from which commissioned officers have, in modern times, for the most part liberated themselves, but which their non-commis-

sioned subordinates almost universally teach by example ; fatal traditions are they, especially in Bombay, where liquor can be procured with perilous facility ;—lying traditions ; for they lead men to suppose that when their spirits are jaded by the oppressive climate, they can only be restored by intoxicating stimulants,—that grog is the elixir of life, the one specific for resisting cold, heat, damp, and miasma, for promoting good fellowship, invigorating wearied minds and bodies, increasing the enjoyment of man, and, instead of brutalising him, elevating him in the estimation of his jovial companions.

The following account of men who apparently never made an effort to resist this traditionary temptation, but yielded to it immediately the opportunity presented itself, is extracted from the Quarter Master General's letter dated 28th February 1850, and is gloomy enough :

" From the situation of the town barracks, during the five days the invalids were located therein, the greatest irregularities and drunkenness prevailed, owing to the continued temptation offered by the numerous grog-shops surrounding them, and the impossibility of keeping the men in barracks, and from their being able to get as much spirits as they desired over surrounding walls ; and His Excellency has not only the opinion of old officers of her Majesty's Service to confirm what is stated on the unfitness of these buildings, but the fact that many of the men forfeited their good conduct stripes, received for years of excellent behaviour, most of whom were likewise decorated with medals for services in the field, thereby losing the advantages of the higher rates of pension, arising from the unusual degree of temptation they were exposed to, in an evil hour when located in these buildings ; and the scenes that occurred were, the Commander-in-Chief is credibly informed, most disgraceful."

From these remarks on certain mortuary reports of the three Presidencies, we proceed towards the object of our investigation, by devoting our attention to particular corps, taking statements as they are set before us by trustworthy collectors of statistics, and not making any attempt to select strong or peculiarly apposite cases. And it is much to be regretted that we cannot approach to accuracy in discussing the morality of any people, without analysing their immorality,—that the data on which we can build with the most certainty, are records of crime. There are no statistical tables of virtue ; there are no Courts appointed to examine its claims and apportion its rewards ; indeed, from its very nature, it must often remain in silence and obscurity. We have, therefore, no alternative but to dwell upon vice ; and hence the man who investigates the morality of any society is sure to be continually reproached with a want of charity, an insatiable desire of finding fault, a harsh disposition, and an inclination to view only the dark side of the question, because he is compelled to content himself with the one kind of precise information within his reach.

One of the very few exceptions to this general rule is the sanatory account of H. M.'s 84th Regiment, which is to be found in the

Medico-Chirurgical Review for 1850. This corps enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most temperate and well-ordered in the European portion of the Indian army. During the first eight months of the period which the report embraces, it remained at Madras ; but then in the wet season, when the rains were unusually heavy, it marched between four and five hundred miles, over roads knee-deep in mud, to Secunderabad—a station which had proved so unhealthy, that 7.88 per cent. of H. M.'s 63rd Regiment had perished there. And yet, observe the condition of the 84th. During the march of forty-seven days, not a single man was confined for drunkenness ; and in the whole year—including the eight months at Madras, the time occupied in transit, and two months at Secunderabad—there was but a single Court Martial. The consequence was that in an average strength of 1,072 men, there were only 13 deaths ; so that, although the mortality at all the other stations of this Presidency was at the rate of 3.02 per cent., the mortality of this regiment was as low as 1.21 per cent. And equally remarkable is the report for the following year, 1847-48, for their mortality was then but at the rate of 3.42 per cent., or not half as much as it had been amongst other European troops at Secunderabad during the fifteen previous years. Such are the vital statistics of a corps which was pre-eminently distinguished for its morality. We may add that an encouraging account is also given by Colonel Sykes of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, whose moral character was considered to be good, and who in 1847 only lost 6 men when their average strength was 892.

Retracing our steps to the Presidency of Bombay, we notice first the favorable returns, for the years between 1831 and 1841-42 inclusive, of H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment. From these we extract the ratio of deaths resulting from all diseases, and then specify the proportion caused by cholera ; as this is one of many instances which might be cited to show that but a small number of casualties amongst European troops can be attributed to that terrible visitant.

Period.	Centesimal proportion of deaths from all causes.	Centesimal proportion of deaths from Cholera.	Period.	Centesimal proportion of deaths from all causes.	Centesimal proportion of deaths from Cholera.
1831 } 1832 } ... 1833 }	4.05	1.55	1837 } 1838 } ...	2.35	0.9
1834 } 1835 } ...	2.18	None.	1840-1 ...	5.54	None.
1836 ...	2.71	0.13	1841-2 ...	3.58	None.

The next return which presents itself to us, is that of H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons. It is very full, entering into details, making specific allusion to each case of sickness and death, and stating the nature of the various diseases; but we content ourselves with compiling the following table :—

Year.	Strength.		From all causes.	From Cholera.	From wounds and injuries.	From diseases caused directly by licentiousness.
1841-2	650	Admissions to hospital...	1,373	55	83	184
		Deaths...	36	22	...	

We now take two or three examples of the Honorable Company's troops, commencing with Dr. Leith's report of the 1st Troop of Horse Artillery.

Year.	Strength.		From all causes.	From Cholera.	From wounds and injuries.	From delirium tremens.	From diseases caused directly by licentiousness.
1838	103	Admissions to hospital ...	335	4	27	2	79
		Deaths... ..	9	1	...	...	...
1839	103	Admissions to hospital ..	301	2	25	5	77
		Deaths... ..	4	...	...	...	...
1840	120	Admissions to hospital ..	215	7	22	6	35
		Deaths... ..	7	...	...	...	...

Dr. Leith was of opinion that a very large majority of these cases of illness and death arose from drunkenness. Most of the admissions on account of epilepsy, dyspepsia, wounds, contusions, and pains in the head, were the immediate results of it. Many diseases of the liver evidently sprang from the same cause. Of eight cases of heart-disease in one year, six followed excessive drinking; and of fifteen cases in another year, fourteen were attributed to the same cause.

The returns for 1844 of the 3rd Troop of Horse Artillery, which was stationed at Chandmarie near Mhow, show that seven out of ninety-nine men died in that year. In the 2nd Battalion of Artillery, during the year 1841, twenty-four cases, or one-third of the diseases treated, were delirium tremens; and the Surgeon in reporting them writes thus :—

“ Although the effects of intemperate drinking have not been shown in a greater number of instances in that aggravated form in which they appear in this disease, in a minor degree they are seen in a large proportion of those who are admitted into hospital. Men in the prime of life, of robust frame, and not under the immediate effects of liquor, are found unable to hold the hand steady without the most marked tremors; there is a character of irritability in the pulse, unconnected with any ailment the men may have, and the tongue is frequently loaded, exhibiting in the *tout ensemble* of the man the pernicious effects of the constant stimulation of the system by ardent spirits, and by which the greater number of diseases are more or less influenced, and always to the disadvantage of the patient. Were it not for the abuse of intoxicating drinks, my experience with the Artillery in Fort George (limited I allow it to be) leads me to believe they would be as healthy a body of men as any Europeans in the Presidency.”

The Honorable Company's First European Regiment, or Old Toughs, were the basis on which the magnificent army of India was raised, and may be considered more than any other corps a fair type of the Company's European troops. They have passed through many ordeals of war and peace, many vicissitudes of life and death, health and sickness. In 1839 they were stationed at Aden, having been during the preceding monsoon at Colaba, “where,” writes Surgeon Howison, “fever, dysentery, and the means of obtaining spirituous liquors, always, more or less, combine to fill the hospital.” That year their strength was 724, their admissions into hospital 670, their deaths 22, or at the rate of 3.03 per cent. The next account of them which has been published refers to the year 1848. In October they were ordered on active service in Sind and Mooltan; and it is a singular fact, that during the six months of their campaign, when actively engaged in subduing the insurgent Mooltannies, they only lost eight men from disease, but no fewer than eighteen during the six months which followed, when they were enjoying a season of repose. Dr. Arnott, our authority for this mortuary paradox, declares that the regular habits into which soldiers are compelled to fall on the line of march, and more especially in a distant campaign, sufficiently accounts for it. Drunkenness, then, only occurs amongst the most reckless; and even such find it diminish so much their powers of endurance, that they learn to wait for a halt before indulging their vicious inclinations. What a testimony to the importance of providing employment for the soldier—of keeping both his mind and body actively engaged!

The following return shows the diseases and deaths in this regiment for eight years, commencing on the 1st April 1846 and ending 1st March 1854 :—

Station.	Year.	Strength.	Admissions to Hospital from all causes.	Admissions from diseases caused directly by licentiousness.	Deaths from all causes.
Kurrachee	1846	714	1,637	62	112
Kurrachee	1847	869	1,452	106	18
Kurrachee, and march to Mooltan... ..	1848	940	1,642	279	53
Mooltan, Punjab and Peshawar	1849	989	2,343	216	76
Punjab, and march to Poona	1850	1,042	2,856	441	34
Poona... ..	1851	1,072	1,915	332	24
Poona... ..	1852	1,060	2,328	394	13
Aden, Bombay	1853	965	1,670	112	35

During the whole period, the average of mortality in the regiment was 5.17 per cent., but amongst the officers only 1.74 per cent. Twenty-three soldiers died of wounds received in battle; the deaths of twenty-seven others were violent or sudden—thus 11 men were drowned, 8 killed by falling over precipices, 1 was murdered, 1 hanged for the murder, and 5 committed suicide.

When casting his eye over the tables which we have framed, the reader must have been surprised to see how numerous are the admissions to regimental hospitals. On an average every soldier appears in the character of an invalid twice, in some corps three times in the year. This would be inexplicable to persons who know what ordinary health is in this country, if various causes, which do not act upon other classes, did not tend to swell the sick lists of European soldiers. One cause is styled by school-boys *shamming*, by military men *malingering*, or the disease of evil will (*malin gré*). Dr. Arnott has, in a valuable paper, treated of its diagnosis, explaining the symptoms by which it may be discovered, and the rather violent remedies which ordinarily have the effect of sending patients back to the discharge of their duties. The examples by which he illustrates his treatise are not a little amusing, and prove that malingersers, though not the best of soldiers, are often first-rate actors. Severe as their sufferings are to the outward eye, and heightened as they are by the stringent applications which medical men always consider expedient in such cases, yet these invalids exhibit at times a most elifying degree of resig-

nation, and reply to all questions with admirable coolness, perspicuity and consistency. Their countenance is probably care-worn, their voice subdued and weak, their sighs heart-rending; whilst a comrade or two, whom sympathy (of course) has attracted to their bedsides, cannot help expressing compassion, and confirming in all important particulars the sufferer's story. Possibly, however, the intelligent spectator discovers in a little time that the tragedy is over-acted; there is no way of accounting for agonies which might make Mrs. Gamp herself apply a towel to her eyes; a poke in the ribs is followed by one of the deepest groans, although the seat of disease cannot be there; remedies which, in other cases, at least bring some alleviation, are here utterly ineffectual; and although the poor man is, according to his own account, painfully weak and delicate, the attendants of the hospital assert that he devours his dinner with the appetite of a horse!

Two cases of malingerers *versus* doctors are circumstantially narrated by Dr. Arnott, as having occurred in the hospital of the Fusiliers. In the one, a man, after a fair trial of the surgeon's patience had been made, was proved an impostor, brought before a Court Martial, found guilty, and, after a hesitation of two months on the part of the indulgent authorities, flogged and dismissed the service. Such ignominy has usually a depressing effect on soldiers; but bitter as it was, it appeared a tonic exactly suited to this man's constitution. It was just what he wanted—an instantaneous cure; “within forty-eight hours after reaching Bombay, he had a stand-up fight in the Fort ditch, with a sailor, for five-and-forty minutes; though for the previous fifteen months he had been a cripple!”

The other was the case of a man who displayed extraordinary subtlety and perseverance in acting his part. One night, when it was too dark for his comrades to see him, he tumbled down, and soon afterwards discovered that he had *such* a pain in the back. From that time his sufferings gradually increased, until they became intense, and apparently beyond the reach of the most skilful treatment. A mere enumeration of the remedies applied to him is sufficient to make us resolve that we will rather die than be received into an hospital. He was leeches, cupped, fomented, chafed, blistered; he took chlorecum, doves-powder, quinine, narcotics; and all had no more effect upon him than a red-hot poker upon the renowned fire-eater. He grew worse and worse; was bowed down by the weight of his disease, and, if he walked, stooped like a witch; but for the most part he kept his bed, and preferred to recline amidst downy pillows, like a beauty in a harem. As much care was taken of him as if he had been worked in filagree; the regiment marched from Peshawar to Poona, and the whole way was this resolute actor carried in a dooly. Then, however,

the doctor thought that he ought to pay for his ride; so he was cupped, and rubbed with tartar-emetic ointment until an eruption appeared upon his skin. This new treatment led speedily to a result, and in a little time he was well enough to be discharged from hospital. Yet the charms of the bed, the pillows, and the dooly were irresistible, and their attractions brought him back to his old haunts. He was then examined by a medical committee, reported to be a malingerer, and tried by a Court Martial. Still luck declared in his favor, and he was acquitted. Again it became a question, what was to become of him. He would not do his duty; the surgeon would not receive him into hospital; the commanding officer would not suffer him to remain an unprofitable idler in the lines. Under such circumstances, the Medical Board was looked to as the fountain of wisdom, and at their suggestion grave doctors, skilled in investigating hidden causes, met to consult upon the matter. The patient was produced; they twisted him, poked him, squeezed him until they made him howl, shoved him against the wall, and at last threw him into a mesmeric state, when he stood upright as a dart. Still holding out, he was sent to Bombay as "an unfit"; but the Medical Board would not have him there, and bowled him back again to Poona. At last, as he saw no prospect of escape, his determination began to wax faint; and after one more desperate effort at inposture, by feigning inconceivable agony, he gave way. One day brought decided improvement; the next day "he gave his sticks to the cook; six days later he was in perfect health and mounting guard—one of the best set-up and best-looking men in the regiment."

But although soldiers may frequently be guilty of evasions for the sake of escaping unpleasant duties, we may be sure that cases of obstinate malingering are rare, and the numerous admissions to military hospitals can only be attributed to two causes—vagrant amours, and drunkenness. With respect to the former, we shall only say that, although they do not lead immediately to fatal terminations, yet high-minded persons must be horror-struck when they know how many fine soldiers have their constitutions undermined by diseases which we may not name, how many are actually wasting away under their influence, and of what valuable services the country is in consequence deprived. With respect to the injury done by intemperance we have a consentient, but not unanimous testimony; for there is a minority of one against us, Mr. Edward Balfour having stated before the British Association in 1848, that "intemperance, which had been regarded as a great cause of mortality amongst the troops in India, would be found to add but a very small proportion to the deaths from climatorial diseases." Opposed to this is the evidence of all classes in the army itself, from the lowest

to the highest, from the man in the ranks to the Commander-in-Chief. However, we have no choice but to content ourselves with calling a single witness from each of four distinct grades.

We first summon an experienced Serjeant, who writes thus:—

"It is absolutely astonishing to see the eagerness with which the mass of European soldiers in India endeavour to procure liquor, no matter of what description, so that it produces insensibility, the sole result sought for. The propensity is equally deep-rooted and pernicious, and its indulgence is often fatal, and always highly injurious to the constitution. Death, madness, premature debility, and complete disorganisation of the human system, all follow in the wake of the drunkard. Delirium tremens is a common disorder in military hospitals; scarcely a single week elapses in any of them without cases of this kind being under treatment; and they are mostly old soldiers whose constitutions have been shattered by continual dissipation. In the existing state of things, every known means has been resorted to for the purpose of checking drunkenness, but without success; the evil still exists, without the slightest symptom of diminution.

"During the ten months the 13th lay at Sukkur, upwards of fifty men died, the deaths averaging from four to six per month. Twenty-five, if not more, of these lost their lives through excessive drinking, some died from *comp-de-solcel* caught when drunk, others from apoplexy produced by liquor, and a part from acute dysentery resulting from the same cause. And this is generally the case in every corps in India; half the annual deaths are caused by drunkenness; for, although the indulgence of this vice may not produce immediate death, and a man may even continue to drink hard for years, the constitution daily and hourly becomes more enfeebled, and less and less fitted to resist sickness. But few habitual drunkards ever return to their native country, and those who do, return only to die after a short existence there, embittered by pain and disease, the seeds of which were sown by their own vitiated conduct!"—*Camp and Barrack-ro* pages 137 &c.

After stating that liquor was illicitly sold by married women in regiments, and that even pay-serjeants had been engaged in the traffic, the writer proceeds:—

"Among the Company's European troops, liquor-selling and drunkenness is even carried to a greater extent than among the Queen's. This difference, in the first place, is caused by the imposition of fewer restrictions; and in the second, by the prospect a man has of never returning to his native country. Sooner or later, he imagines, he must fall a victim beneath the noxious influences of an unfriendly climate; and he drinks to drown all thoughts of the future, and in his opinion to enjoy life while he may; thus becoming accessory to his own death, and with the guilt of drunkenness stamping that of suicide upon his soul. What a noble contrast to this weak pusillanimous conduct does that of the man present, who, eschewing the damning sin of intoxication, becomes by sobriety and good conduct (which, when united to ability, rarely is unrewarded in the Company's service,) the carver of his own fortunes. It is true that commissions are not given to men who enlist as privates in that service, which is a great injustice; but, nevertheless, there are numerous situations of trust and emolument, which may be, and are filled by soldiers."

A Captain, who has published a work entitled "Ten Years in

India"—which, though diffuse and verbose, is, in the main, accurate—declares that—

"People may say and write what they like to the contrary, but our poor unfortunate countrymen, in India, drink most dreadfully, and so do the women, and so do the children too, when they can get it. Speak to an European or his wife, and if they do not, one or both, smell of arrack, I am sadly mistaken; and as long as arrack continues to be an item of supply in the canteens, the soldiery, as well as their families, will partake of it, and the consequences will be apparent; and, whenever cholera does make its appearance, the drunkards are among the first to go; though I have heard say that they are the toughest, and will stand all kinds of vicissitudes much better than the steadiest and most sober in the regiments.

"But, be this as it may, it cannot be denied that drinking prevails to a fearful extent, and people who are not aware of the fact, are very much astounded when they are informed that such is really the case, and what is worse still, the women are as much addicted to the strong waters as the men. How many, alas! have I seen in a state of intoxication, and how many did I see when the ——— passed through Vellore! The force of example affects the children, who, seeing their parents so fond of liquor, and indulging in it to such an extent, think it to be as good for themselves as they fancy it is for their parents; they, therefore, imbibe the poison whenever they have an opportunity, either by stealing it out of the cupboard, or by obtaining it from the natives, who bring it clandestinely for sale into the barracks."

Colonel Sykes's convictions on this point are the result of laborious investigation, and he declares that "the mortality among the European troops in India will not be lessened until the European soldier is improved in his habits, until he is made to understand that temperance is for the benefit of his body, libraries for the benefit of his mind, exercise for the benefit of his health, and savings' banks for the benefit of his purse."

But the authority which we affix as a seal to all that we have written on this subject, and which military men will scarcely venture to call in question, is that of "The Queen's Regulations." At pages 121 and 123 we are told that drunkenness, "a vice, *unfortunately so prevalent in the British Army is admitted to be the source of every evil*; and the soldier cannot be too frequently warned against the indulgence of this debasing vice, which leads men into the commission of crimes from which, in their sober moments, they would shrink with abhorrence and disgust; they should be told that it destroys health, blasts success in life, exposes them to the infliction of disgraceful punishment, to the loss of reason, produces mutiny and violence, and if they have a wife and children, it entails destitution and misery on them."

Insanity, the most afflicting of all diseases, and which is sadly frequent in the army, may often be traced to intemperance. That

in England and Scotland twenty per cent., in some places fifty per cent. of such cases are the direct result of it, is made evident by Dr. Hutcheson's Report of the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum, and other Reports which have been analysed by Dr. Carpenter. Under a tropical sun such a cause is, of course, much more active ; indeed we ourselves have seen seven insane soldiers together in one ward of an hospital ; and a pensioned Staff Sergeant of Artillery, " who never drank in India, and was only in hospital five days during twenty-one years' service," assured Colonel Sykes " that he has known, out of a detachment of a hundred artillerymen, no less than eight men in strait-jackets at one time, absolutely mad from drink."

We know that our labour to prove the connection, as of cause and effect, between intemperance and disease, may appear superfluous to those who are well acquainted with the army ; but we wish that our case should be made clear to all persons who will do us the favour to sit in judgment upon it, and must therefore keep in mind that some have been perplexed by the evidence of Mr. Edward Balfour and others, who have their own motives for attempting to conceal a too flagrant immorality. At times the true state of matters is made notorious and conspicuous to all ; but when the foul odours of vice thus rise and offend our nostrils some one steps forward, not to remove the reeking corruption, but to mingle with it a perfume of false inferences. The effluvia then becomes sickening to every philanthropist, whose senses are exercised to discern good and evil ; but it imposes upon superficial inquirers, and sometimes induces them to believe that accurate exponents of a system are dangerous perverters of the truth.

We shall now arrive more directly at the conclusion to which the tables of disease and death have led us, by inquiring into the actual amount of offences and punishments which are disclosed in military returns. It has always appeared to us that this is grievously large, and sufficient to prove that the system is one of terror, as indeed its best and wisest supporters would probably admit it to be, pleading that inflexible maxim of Roman discipline that " a good soldier should dread his officers far more than the enemy." But possibly some have failed to observe what a great evil punishment is in itself* ;

* Grotius defines punishment to be, an evil suffered for an evil wrought, "*malum passivum, quod igitur ob malum actionis* ; and Puffendorf, " an evil inflicted by authority upon view of antecedent transgression."—See Hallam's *Literature of Europe*.

may more, what a great evil—as regarded from one point of view—it is in its tendencies. Freemen are demoralised by it ; servile minds can alone be beaten into shape. It deters the evilly-disposed from committing crime, but rarely or never improves the heart, and rather sears the conscience. The best that can be said of it is, that it is a *necessary evil*, and must ever be regarded as such by generous maintainers of discipline and authority.

As regards corporal punishment, we may repeat the words which we before wrote, and say that, although there is a consentient, there is not an unanimous testimony to prove its hardening influence, for we have a minority of one against us. That one is Adjutant Moyle, of H. M.'s 87th Regiment, who, having risen from the ranks, as Mr. Neale informs us, was once discussing with a knot of brother officers, in the depôt at Winchester, a speech which Sir Francis Burdett had just made in the House of Commons against this practice, and with astounding nonchalance thus clenched the question, " Sir Francis Burdett may say what he likes about flogging, but I never was worth — — till I got 300 lashes !" But surely this gallant Adjutant had more of the spaniel's nature than other Englishmen. Happily the powers, whose word is law to the soldier, have not agreed with him, as the infliction of corporal punishment has been for long becoming, year by year, less frequent. In 1838 one in every 108 men of the British army, and in 1845 only one in every 189, was brought to the triangles, and this was before the present limitations had been introduced.

But painfully large is the number of non-commissioned officers who are annually degraded, and of privates who are subjected to various kinds of punishment. The former are reduced, and again promoted, with a frequency which necessity only can justify. There is no alternative, and if commanding officers were not to place in offices of trust those who had already proved themselves unworthy of them, they would be in the same position as Sir John Wylburn, who, when Governor of Bombay, could not find a man that he would venture to make a serjeant or a corporal. Of course, if it had not been absolutely necessary to punish soldiers so often, the system would long ago have been modified ; yet, after admitting its necessity, we must also lament its consequences. What should we think of the population of England, if two-thirds were annually brought before the Judges and Magistrates for crimes and misdemeanours great and small ? We should tremble for our country, and fear that we had reached the last stage of national degeneracy. Yet this is less than the proportion of offences committed in the ranks,

as may be seen from the following table, compiled with the aid of Colonel Sykes's returns for Madras :—

Corps.	Strength.	Number of drunkards.	Centesimal proportion of drunkards.	Number punished by Regimental Captains, and Commanding Officers.	Centesimal proportion of soldiers thus punished.	Number tried by Regimental, District, and General Courts Martial.	Centesimal proportion of soldiers thus tried.	Total of all classes of offences.	Centesimal proportion of offences.
Artillery... ..	1,938	345	17.62	1,318	67.31	162	8.27	1,480	75.98
H. M.'s 15th Regt..	658	45	6.84	265	40.27	11	1.67	276	41.94
H. M.'s 25th Regt...	716	88	12.29	615	85.89	38	5.31	653	91.20
H. M.'s 51st Regt...	1,089	203	18.64	507	46.55	22	2.02	529	48.57
H. M.'s 84th Regt...	1,062	136	12.80	731	68.83	19	1.79	750	70.62
H. M.'s 94th Regt...	1,137	315	27.70	659	57.96	55	4.84	714	62.80
H. Co.'s 1st Eur....	1,048	155	14.79	578	55.15	36	3.43	614	58.58
H. Co.'s 2nd Eur....	1,075	174	16.18	1,431	133.11	92	8.56	1,523	141.67
Total... |	8,713	1,461	16.71	6,104	69.81		4.97	6,539	74.78

We have also before us a return for the Presidency of Bombay, showing the number of men convicted by Courts Martial during the last year, commencing the 1st February 1854 and ending the 31st January 1855. It is very full, giving particulars for each month, distinguishing drunkenness from other offences, and non-commissioned officers from privates. The result is this :—

Average of strength.	Convicted by Courts Martial of drunkenness.	Convicted of other offences.	Total convicted by Courts Martial.	Centesimal proportion of convictions.
Non-Commissioned Officers	97	62	159	} 7.17
Privates... ..	204	216	420	

'It thus appears that in the course of last year, seven out of every hundred men were tried and convicted by Courts Martial. We also perceive that half the offences spring directly, and the other half we are sure indirectly, from the same source as the large mortality—in-temperance. To this may be traced nearly all the crimes of Great

Britain, as declared in the following extracts from the addresses of five most esteemed Judges to Grand Juries:—

Judge Coleridge.—"There is scarcely a crime comes before me, that is not directly or indirectly caused by strong drink."

Judge Pattison.—"If it were not for this drinking, you (the jury) and I would have nothing to do."

Judge Alderson.—"Drunkenness is the most fertile source of crime; and if it could be removed, the assizes of the country would be rendered mere nullities."

Judge Wightman.—"I find in every calendar that comes before me one unfailing source, directly or indirectly, of most of the crimes that are committed—intemperance."

Judge Williams.—"Experience has proved that almost all crime into which juries have had to inquire may be traced, in one way or another, to the habit of drunkenness."

So also in the evidence taken before the Committee of the House of Commons on public-houses, we read that Thomas Wright, a witness who had gone through the New Prison at Manchester, containing 550 criminals, said:—"I spent an entire day in speaking with the prisoners, and in every case, without exception, drinking was the cause of their crime;" and, according to Dr. Carpenter, the Admiral of the Mediterranean fleet stated that since the allowance of spirits has been reduced to one quarter of the old amount, the number of punishments has fallen more than 70 per cent. Precisely the same may be asserted of crimes and punishments in the army, for which we could not have a higher authority than the present Commander-in-Chief of India; the more so as his Excellency appeals for a confirmation of his opinion to every experienced officer under his command. In the General Orders for 1852 appeared a "Confidential Circular," dated 23rd February; it commences thus:—

"1. *The tendency to drink is the bane of the British soldier. Every officer of experience acknowledges and deplores the fact.*

"2. Of the offences which are brought under the notice of the Commander-in-Chief in India, five-sixths are committed by drunken men, or originate in drunkenness.

"3. It has been His Excellency's sad duty, since his assumption of command, three times to sign the death-warrant of a soldier convicted of murder—murder committed under the influence of drink."

One more statistical test we will apply to the habits of European troops. The savings' banks of England and Ireland have always been considered to indicate in some measure the provident, careful, and orderly lives of the depositors; for although some may be capricious individuals who soon change their minds, and after a few months draw out their little hoards to squander them at the public-house, yet it is reasonably concluded that the larger

portion are accumulating the profits of industry and economy. Many of the English poor lodge their money in the hands of friendly societies and Odd Fellows' clubs, and of these it is impossible to get any accurate account. But official returns of savings' banks, in England, Wales, and Ireland, are regularly made; and by these we learn with satisfaction that in 1830 an amount of £13,507,568 had been deposited by 412,217 persons, and in 1840 these numbers had so much increased that £27,034,026 were deposited by 970,285 persons. In 1831 the amount deposited was at the rate of 12s. 8d. per head; in 1846 of 24s.; and in 1848, consequent upon the distress caused by the potato disease, this amount had fallen to 20s. 11d.; but there has since been an increase.

We have a return of the number of European soldiers who last year deposited money in the Savings' Bank of Bombay.

Regiment.	Number of Depositors	Amount deposited.	Number of accounts closed during the year.
		<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	
H. M.'s 10th Hussars...	138	13,209 0 2	94
" 8th Regt. ...	203	20,126 8 9	148
" 61th " ...	236	23,520 12 1	72
" 78th Lightls... 173	173	10,813 15 8	79
" 83rd Regt. ... 156	156	18,185 8 1	65
" 86th " ... 212	212	19,193 10 9	243
H. Co.'s Corps of Arty... 235	235	25,671 6 0	33
" 1st Eur. Regt. 221	221	14,450 10 11	123
" 2nd " ... 104	104	14,864 3 1	28
" 3rd " raised in Nov. 1853. 27	27	3,591 8 10	0
Total...	1,705	163,267 4 4	885

As compared then with the strength (8,071) the amount deposited is at the rate of nearly 23 rupees per head, a result which must be considered satisfactory, as it proves, that the pay of the troops is on a liberal scale, and sufficient to supply all their wants. In fact, although a European soldier drinks on an average 5 or 6 gallons of liquor, when each inhabitant of England drinks less than 1, yet the former is able to accumulate a larger amount of savings than the latter.

But we will endeavour to make this point clearer. The quantity of wine consumed in the United Kingdom from 1795 to 1804 was at the rate of 0.52 gallons per head a year, and from 1821 to 1849 only 0.22 gallons; the quantity of spirits consumed was in 1831 at the rate of 0.90 gallons per head, in 1849 at the rate of 0.48

gallons. Now in 1852 we made inquiries respecting the wing of a regiment, 506 strong, and found that although the men had consumed 1,641 gallons less than the Government allowance, yet they had drawn from the canteen 686 gallons of liquor in the quarter, besides their allowance of beer and porter, or at the rate of 5.42 gallons per head in the year; and it is to be remembered that a considerable quantity must have been procured elsewhere. On the other hand, the English returns include men, women, and children; the military, only men.* In the Madras regiment referred to above, $8\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of spirits per head were drawn in one year from the canteen. So that the sum expended by the troops upon liquor must be very large, and as at the same time their savings are considerable, their pecuniary condition must be pronounced extremely comfortable. It is rarely indeed that men contrive to be both intemperate and provident, and we can scarcely suppose that such is the case in this instance. By the last column of the foregoing table it will be seen that half the depositors withdrew their funds during the year. Doubtless this arose partly from the circumstance that when in hospital or confined for offences, the unexpended portion of their pay had been made over to the savings' bank; but we have also reason to believe that many of them had adopted a disgraceful custom, well known in some regiments by the slang name of *cogging*; that is, they had abstained for a time from all intoxicating liquors, with the deliberate intention of returning to their old habits when a certain amount of savings should be accumulated. "*Cug*" we believe to imply, in the elegant language of the ranks, an abstinence, for a limited and fixed period, from the use of ardent spirits.

The reader can scarcely have cast his eye over the returns of offences and punishments in the Presidency of Bombay without noticing the extraordinary large proportion of non-commissioned officers who figure on the lists. In the management of civil affairs, such as are in situations of trust and responsibility, however humble, may be expected to exhibit some moral superiority, and ordinarily the rule of their preferment is *decur digniori*. We cannot, indeed, feel sure that their behaviour will be uniformly good; but if a foreman in a factory, or any similar agent, sets an example of misconduct, he disappoints the reasonable expectation of his employers, and we consider his case exceptional. It is not so in the army. There, in the usual course, men who are promoted to offices of trust show themselves unworthy of that trust. Moral gradations are in the

* Married men are allowed to take from the canteen only beer for their families.

inverse ratio of rank, and a private is clearly a more orderly person than his regimental superior. Thus, although the proportion of non-commissioned officers to privates is less than 1 to 8, the proportion of offenders in the two classes is nearly as 1 to 3½. Amongst the 8,071 European troops of this Presidency, 159 non-commissioned officers and 420 privates were last year convicted before Courts Martial; that is, the offences of the former were as 15.85 compared with their strength, of the latter as only 5.78; and if we simply take the cases of drunkenness, the proportion of guilty serjeants and corporals is much larger. This excessive amount of delinquency is ordinarily ascribed by non-commissioned officers themselves to the harassing labours which they undergo, and which induce them to recruit their spirits with stimulants; but they do not pretend that any—except the small proportion quartered in the island of Bombay—are overworked; nor do they suppose that intemperance really qualifies them to support the fatigues of which they complain. So probably the excuse, although urged with sincerity, has been discovered by men whom shame prevents from stating the true cause—the extravagant and self-indulgent habits to which this class of men have from time immemorial given way, and which such as are newly promoted have the strongest temptations to adopt. The surgeon of a Dragoon regiment, quartered at Kirkee some years since, when reporting that one in every nine-and-a-half of such petty officers had died, and only one in every twenty-two privates, ascribed the larger mortality of the former to both the causes which we have here assigned. They were subjected to fatigue and exposure, but were also very reckless, and having increased means of purchasing liquor, would drink to excess when jaded and depressed in spirits; so that, small as was their number, there were within the year three cases of delirium tremens amongst them, one of which terminated fatally. In some instances both luxuriosity and extravagance are to be found at serjeants' messes, expensive wines being placed upon the table at convivial parties, and the festivities of their officers rivalled. Symposia, in which married men take their share, are frequent, and their wives are then left to their own devices. In brief, there can be no doubt that their habits are peculiarly vicious, and every man introduced amongst them by promotion has new and strong temptations with which to contend. The consequence is, that whilst a very few preserve a high tone, and are in every sense fine specimens of soldiers, the greater portion retain their position only by becoming, after a long course of training, proof against the strongest potations, or else, after a brief enjoyment of power, are reduced, and sent back with ignominy to the subordinate post from which they had been raised, not on account of their

merits, but because their commanding officer literally made a *man* of necessity.*

There; we have stated the case as it is; we have produced solid facts, and drawn our conclusions from the highest authorities; the impression which they will leave upon the minds of ninety-nine in a hundred unprejudiced readers, is, that from one cause, and one only, the ranks of the army are in a moral sense an Augean stable. And how are they to be cleansed? Are we to wait till Hercules is born? Till Napier is *redivivus*, or some hero appears who has the will and the ability to make "a clean sweep"? No; the efforts of numbers can do more than Hercules, and a thousand officers more than the best Commander-in-Chief. Only let officers not blink at the light; let them not suspect that we are the enemies of the army because we tell it the truth; nor talk as if it were all very well that soldiers should remain as they are. Let them at best give us credit for upright intentions when we lift up the veil to exhibit the interior, and remember that only thus now-a-days is reform introduced into all departments. Secrecy is the janitor of vice; she shuts the gate upon prying eyes, and

* The testimony of a zealous clergyman in Bengal quite confirms our experience in this matter. He writes thus:—"I fear that a regiment in India is sure rather to deteriorate morally than improve. Of this I have had most painful experience in the —th Queen's. When first they came to this country I had a large daily congregation from the ranks of that regiment—men and women. When they were settled here five years subsequently, prior to embarkation for Europe, there was only *one*, of all the survivors, who had come regularly to Church and the Lord's table, who retained any active religious principle. Naturally I saw a good deal of this *one* man, and inquired as far as possible into the causes of this lamentable relapse. Promotion and meekly appeared to be the chief causes. The steady and well-ordered men not advanced into the Sergeants' mess, and there they seem almost sure to fall off—not always from a certain respectability of habit, but almost universally from active piety. I asked some men of the —th whom I had known as serious, and whom I had believed to be consistent Christian characters, what had been the ground of their alteration, and of the alteration of others in the little company with whom I had been associated. There was but one answer—the *Sergeants' mess*. When a man gets *there*, he is induced to drink—not *hard* always, or even generally—but still in a way to amalgamate him with a body which cannot be *religious*, however orderly and decently principled. (The Bombay returns show more than this.) Also, the religious men who get promoted become dissociated from those who remain unpromoted; and the example of the former in their new sphere, and jealousy of their advancement, work mischief among the latter. The remaining religious man, after five years in India, of H. M.'s —th Regiment, had *not* been promoted. I found him, as he left me, a corporal in the band. A very large proportion of the band of the —th, in 1849, were daily church-goers. A few of these men remained in 1855. I asked the survivors of the deaths of their fellow-bandsmen, and of their own altered principles. They said that many had died off early, from always blowing, but were as they left me, to the last. Then the young fellows, who had been influenced by *them*, got promoted, and fell under other influences."

would permit none to intrude upon the revels of the evil spirits within. We want light, more light, that the dungeon may be made bright as day. Perhaps every quack will recommend his nostrum when the evil is known and understood ; but we may hope also that wise men will produce some valuable specifics. Let opinions be published, then weighed, and such as are worthless rejected. Here is our contribution. We compare our noble army to a polished surface which has become soiled, and which may be burnished by even dust and cinders ; so possibly the suggestions which we are now about to make may not be without some use and efficacy.

A medical officer of Bengal, in reporting that 294 soldiers had been convicted of offences, three of whom had been transported as felons, and after saying that "this catalogue had in almost every instance its origin more or less remote in drunkenness," makes the chilling, painful, heart-rending remark, that "the difficulty of devising a remedy for its removal appears almost insurmountable." How shocking ! The military reformer is brought to a dead stop ; 'There is no hope,' he cries, 'no healing for our people !' and yet he is right ; experience has shown that the best-devised expedients are unavailing. Only we may trust that this will not always be the case. There are already signs that the Christian efforts of philanthropists will not always be unrewarded.

The primary importance of the subject induces us first to consider the position of women in a regiment. A favorite topic with Christian writers is the social condition of the gentler sex,—their elevation from the time the Divine sanction was given to monogamy until all their claims to respect and courtesy were admitted by the chivalry of the middle ages,—and the softening, refining, civilising influence which they have in consequence exercised on society. And without going out of our way to prove that such premises and conclusions are correct, we may take it for granted, that, as society is now constituted, the moral condition of man is inseparable from that of woman ; where woman sinks, her weight is sufficient to drag down that sex which is physically and mentally stronger. On the other hand we may admit with Mrs. S. T. Hale, the American champion of the whole sisterhood, that "woman is God's appointed agent of *morality*, the teacher and inspirer of those sentiments which are termed the virtues of humanity ; and that the progress of these virtues, and the permanent improvement of our race, depend on the manner in which her mission is treated by men."

It is difficult to lift the veil from this delicate subject, but it is necessary that it should be brought to notice. Woman lends no aid in the moral improvement of the army ; but the reverse is true.

There are two classes of soldiers' wives,—those who have been born in India, and those who have been introduced from Europe. The former, particularly if their skin is of a darker tinge, are rather looked down upon in Her Majesty's regiments, but we are bound to say that this is most unjust. They are usually superior, intellectually and morally, to their European sisters, and if their conduct has not upon others the ordinary effects of good example, it is simply on account of this low estimate which is taken of them by a foolish but national prejudice. The wives who are brought from England have been for the most part inhabitants of sea-ports and garrisoned towns, but a few were once rural maidens, ignorant of the world until they saw one of its phases in a barrack. If there were ever to be a good heaven of female society in the ranks it would obviously spring from these last ; but a consideration of the circumstances in which they are placed satisfies us that such is not likely to be the case. The following is a soldier's description of their voyage to India :—

"As we approached the mouth of the Channel, the sea became very rough, and the few women with the detachment were completely laid up with sea-sickness ; their sufferings being augmented tenfold by the wretched way they had of lying. No sleeping-berths had been made for them, and they had only hammocks given them like ours ; and it is very difficult (in some cases impossible) for women to get into these. The married people had, therefore, to lie upon the deck during the entire voyage ; no small hardship, when it is remembered that a vessel in rough weather frequently ships seas, which come tumbling down the hatchways, setting all aloft below, and beds—if the dirty pallets of common cow-hair, such as is used in mortar, issued to us, might be so called—as a matter of course. There was not even a screen to separate their quarters from ours,—a gross violation of common decency ; and the poor women, lowly as their condition was, felt bitterly the indelicacy of their situation, and often murmured that their feelings should be thus outraged." —*Camp and Barrack-room*, p. 34.

We do not believe there is that degree of depravity amongst the women of a regiment, which we have frequently heard attributed to them ; but it is impossible that they can retain any of the delicacy which often adorns the humblest cottages of Britain. The custom which prevails in England, and which is a foul disgrace to the Government,* of placing married and unmarried in the same room, is, we rejoice to say, not imitated in India ; but matters are bad enough here. Suppose the case of a woman who on her arrival in this country still possesses the finer feelings of her sex. She is placed, suppose, in barracks at Colaba, where she lives in the same

* We observe Lord Carlisle, in his recent work, "A Diary in Greek and Turkish Waters," writes that "great pains are taken at the Horse Guards in all that concerns military prisons and schools. *Something remains to be done in making provision for lodging the wives of soldiers allowed to have them, who are six in every hundred. At present they for the most part sleep in the long barrack-rooms with the rest of the men.*"

room with numerous other families, separated one from the other by a matted screen. The livelong day she may be condemned to hear the gross ribaldry of a shameless neighbour, the children learning profanity, and whilst touchingly unconscious of guilt, being, as the Oxford essayist writes, "suckled in sin and catechised in blasphemy." Her husband's comrades pay frequent visits to the little nook that serves them "for bedroom and parlour and all," and expect to be supplied with liquor, which by fair means or foul can generally be procured. Her allowance is sufficient to save her from working hard, but not to indulge the taste for finery, which is the usual result of idleness and thoughtlessness. If her husband is intemperate, he insists that his craving must be satisfied at any expense, and will hear no refusal. What is she to do? She sees women who were originally in the same position as herself driving about with handsome carriages and servants—two or three years since we used to recognise every evening five such flaunting wives of soldiers, who were maintained by servants of Government—so if she has any charms, she soon discovers the way to live in easy circumstances; if she has none, she can only settle down into the habits of those around her, and after due training become the Moll Flaggon or Doll Tearsheet of her society. The only women who follow neither of these courses are the very few who say with conscious pride that they never 'keep company' with others of their sex in the regiment; generally, the alternative is a life of sluttishly coarseness or pharisaic seclusion. If any one doubt us, we say, *expertis crede*; do not attempt to refute us until you have taken as much pains as we have to test the accuracy of every statement.

Before there can be any amendment of this condition, which is disgraceful to our national character, and unworthy of our civilisation, three correctives must be applied, two of which can only come from Government, the third from individuals; but the three must be administered together, for the absence of one would render the others nugatory. First, Government must prove that it attaches some value to female modesty and delicacy, that it does not think it decorous for reasoning bipeds to live 'like the feathered tribes or gregarious quadrupeds, and that the slums of our great cities ought not to be the models of lodging-houses for our brave soldiers. So long as soldiers and their wives are required to herd promiscuously, whether on sea or land, or so long as their huts are not furnished—and at present they are not—with the conveniences which decency requires, Government is accountable for the perversion of their morals, is thus the seducer of female virtue, and consequently the public pander to brutality and crime.

The same remarks apply in a less degree to the present 'restric-

tions upon marriage. In his very valuable paper to which we have more than once referred, Dr. Arnott writes that "Government does not encourage marriage, and only allows 12 per cent. married men in each regiment, and that this is the root of evil." We could indeed point to one regiment in which the single men declare that the women's lives have made them averse from marriage, and consequently there is not the regulated proportion of married men; but this is not the case generally, for soldiers are as anxious as the rest of their sex to enjoy female society and lawful wedlock. And the truth of Dr. Arnott's statement is borne out by an important return printed in the *United Service Magazine* for 1849, which shows the relative sickness, crime, and effective value of unmarried and married men in a regiment; but we regret that the writer does not satisfactorily account for the extraordinary large proportion of the latter. We have compiled the following table from this return:—

	Strength	Tried by Courts Martial for drunkenness during three years.	Tried for other offences.	Total of offences.	Centesimal proportion of offences.	Days consumed in hospital during five years.	Days in which men underwent sentence and were not effective.
Unmarried... ..	512	37	56	93	18.35	35,501	2,997
Married	204	4	2	6	2.94	1,044	116

The sumptuary part of the question in adding considerably to the number of married soldiers is so serious, that we express our opinion on the details of the subject with great diffidence. The expense of transport for troops would be increased, but we believe that the liberal sum now allowed by Government for the erection of new barracks would be sufficient to provide separate domiciles for each man and his wife. Perhaps, also, any additional charge might be saved by enabling soldiers to earn money in trade, and then withdrawing all allowance for their families. Sure we are, that their habits would become more regular, their health sounder, their penal confinement less frequent; and on all these accounts they would be far more efficient. Such military offences as drunkenness, absence without leave, and "selling of necessaries," together with cases of filthy disease, would be diminished; and, what is far more, the stigma would not be attached to Government, as at present, of compelling incontinence, and therefore encouraging the commission of numerous crimes. So long as the present system is continued, legislative measures for the suppression of vice are counteracted, and the sincerity of Government, when it introduces them, must be

questioned; for a poison is retained, the baneful influence of which is not confined to the army, but is diffused through the veins and arteries of the nation.

But the most generous efforts of Government will be useless unless they are supported by officers and their families. A regard for the moral and social condition of the wives and children of the regiment must be recognised by the officers and ladies as a duty which they owe to the State, as well as to the gentle religion of love which they profess. To urge as an excuse that the women are depraved, and the atmosphere of their abodes too foul for virtue and refinement to enter it, is the same as sentencing them to remain depraved and to perish without a hope of escape. Even if the air be so foul, have gentlemen and ladies no safety-lamps to preserve them,—have they not characters on which the breath of calumny can never exercise a noxious influence,—and do they not know that sterling charity is like the magnet, which, whilst it attracts others, loses none of its own virtue, or as those Egyptian perfumes of which a charnel-

has not in two thousand years diminished the efficacy. If indeed they are themselves dark, they had better not go into a dark place, lest they lose themselves and others too; but if they have true light, they are bound to step down fearlessly, and generously stretch out a helping hand to all whom they may find lingering in the cave of despair. Ladies need never fear that they must hear offensive language, or be subjected to other such annoyances, when visiting the women; but they might have the happiness of teaching cleanliness and neatness, regard for the good opinion of their superiors, and above all, respect for themselves, to their less prosperous sisters. The truth of Irving's assertion would then be made plain to them:—"They who will visit the poor shall find the poor worthy to be visited—they who will take an interest, not as patrons, but as fellow-men, in the condition of the poor, shall not only confer, but inherit, a blessing." And why should not their gentle voices ever carry comfort and sympathy to the hospital? Lady and the two Misses Napier are the only ladies we have heard of as visiting military hospitals in India.

With respect to officers, there is an admirable article in the *Daily News* of the 2nd of June, in which the writer represents Miss Nightingale as nigh broken-hearted at beholding "the beastly intoxication of the ignorant soldiers, whose officers look on apathetically, as if it were no concern of theirs." The heroine, in whom every true Englishman feels an interest, has lately recovered from an illness, the source of which was rather in the mind than the body. Five lives of soldiers, whom surgeons had declared to be in a hopeless condition, had been

saved by the persevering efforts of herself and her brave sisterhood, but then these and others are when convalescents cast back upon their hands—brought into the hospital “foaming at the mouth, black in the face,” stifled with drink! Soldiers’ wives, aye, the very nurses become contaminated, and sink into intemperance. Well may the writer, who comments on these facts, ask whether that precious life should be exposed again for the sake “not of heroes, but of sots!”—whether the health of Florence Nightingale should be again endangered by “the mischief-making—not of the Czar, but of the devil?” Cold, indifferent Christians can live near, and in the midst of, such scenes, and yet preserve their peace of mind undisturbed; but we avow from experience that no zealous man or woman, who sympathises with soldiers, can contemplate them without excruciating pain and all the torture of mental agony. The London editor (justly or unjustly, we cannot say) declares who are most culpable in this matter:—

“The most guilty parties in the business are the officers, who ought to have more true fellowship with their men, and the authorities, who might easily cleanse the market of the Greek poison which does the mischief. There is unfortunately no doubt about the apathy with which many officers look on while those who are under their charge are swallowing rank poison. They will not stir to save their profession from the discredit. They will not stir to save their comrades from disease and death. They will not stir to prevent Miss Nightingale’s work from being undone—much less to help her—by keeping sound those whom she has restored. She has overcome everything else—the ill-will of medical functionaries, the obstructiveness of officials, filth, death, disease, and death; and now she is distressed and disheartened, and well-nigh overwhelmed by this deadly mischief which British officers might have spared her and the victims whom she cannot save. Is this to go on? It is perfectly clear that it need not go on. British officers are pleased to suppose that soldiers will drink, and that there is no kindling them.”

But our business is chiefly with the men, and we would draw attention to one principle of which they peculiarly stand in need, and which is at the root of all other principles: that is, self-government. Coleridge remarked, that “the necessity for external government to man is in an inverse ratio to the vigour of his self-government. Where the last is most complete, the first is least wanted.” We may add also, that the converse is true, and where the first is most complete, the last is least desired, or where all the actions of human beings are watched and controlled by others, they little feel the necessity of controlling themselves. Hence the popular corruption which springs from despotism, and the weak feeling of self-dependence observable amongst soldiers and sailors. Their bodies are placed at the disposal of their superiors, and too often their souls also. A strange confusion of ideas prevails. As they must rise at an appointed time for guard, and retire to rest at a certain

hour, so also they may get drunk at an appointed time, provided they are sober at another time. Virtue and vice have no existence in the imagination of some, except in their relations to times and seasons ; and the question, whether a particular act would be right or wrong, is resolved into that other question—what o'clock is it ? Such states of mind must vary according to the example set by their superiors. If their officers seem to think, as Lord Palmerston is said to have thought, that they can “ put down Providence,” and show no sense of moral responsibility ; if they take the lead in crime, or only view it as a military offence, they are making indifferent soldiers and decidedly bad men. The desideratum for the soldier is *temperance*—a word which implies the government of self, the power of restraining, not merely a love for drink, but every bad passion and rebellious inclination. He must be taught how to fear the *forum interius* as well as *exterius*, his conscience as well as his commanding officer, and be made a moral agent, not a fighting machine.

‘ But,’ thinks Private Tomkins, ‘ the canteen is open ; the clock has just struck twelve ; a dram must be good for one ; Government decidedly recommends it, and they know what is the proper thing ; if they administer it to an empty stomach, there cannot be any harm in taking it.’ So he drinks ; and at that time of day, taken without a meal, it rather creates thirst and leaves an unpleasant craving, which he satisfies by illicit means. To be sure he lost his stripes for being drunk on duty ; but the Major told him, if he must enjoy himself, to take care and do it at the proper season, which, as he is off guard, is now. Perhaps, too, after his carouse he will hold a worse debauch ; for, when he came out of hospital the last time, the officer of his company advised him to be more careful in future, and this time he intends to take every precaution. Yes ; officers should understand that they inflict incalculable injury on their men if they are guilty of solemn levity ; advice instigates others to commit crime, if it falls short of treating debauchery and licentiousness as sin.

Intemperance, we have shown, is the one evil to be striven against in the army. Other vices there are, but by attacking them we should be dividing our forces, which ought to be thrown in a mass upon this one. It naturally occurred to many, that principles of total abstinence would alone be sufficient to stem the torrent of this vice ; but unhappily, we think, teetotal societies were found to be not adapted for men living under military discipline. We know a regiment in which the leaders of such an association were long suspected of tippling in secret, and at last exposed by their comrades, who rudely broke in upon their dishonest revels. In other instances,

soldiers, whom a supply of arrack had made sentimental and penitent, took the pledge, which they observed until another opportunity of intoxicating themselves offered, and no longer. Lastly, all-will sprang up between the opponents and supporters of such societies, and the latter being suspected of hatching pernicious designs at their meetings, the Horse Guards issued an order for their suppression.*

The wisdom of the following suggestions, offered in "The Queen's Regulations," cannot be questioned. After pointing out to officers the duty of making themselves acquainted with, and holding kindly intercourse with their men, they refer thus to drunkenness:—

"It is considered that a vice, unfortunately so prevalent in the British army, may be *checked and prevented* by due attention on the part of the commanding officer, and by the zealous and cordial co-operation and example of those subordinate to him.

"With respect to this vice, and indeed to all other irregularities, the commanding officer should ever bear in mind that nothing can be more fatal to the discipline of a regiment, and eventually to his own character and credit, than a practice of passing it unnoticed unless forced upon attention by the commission of some outrageous breach of discipline. He must observe, that a positive absence of crime is the criterion of a well-established discipline, not its *screened existence*."

An old soldier, in his "Jottings from my Sabretasch," writes with manly frankness in a similar strain, pointing out the necessity of moral superintendence, and the pernicious influence which hardened debauchees must have upon recruits:—

"When I hear of a corps wherein this evil propensity exists to an extent injurious to the service, I can come to no other conclusion than that there has been something radically defective in the moral training. Why should youths, who had probably but seldom or ever crossed the threshold of a public-house, become all at once tipplers after entering the service? Such melancholy results would lead to the supposition that they had become inmates of a school for demoralisation, rather than one for military discipline. Looking to the truism that evil is a much stronger principle than good, I consider it of vital consequence that the recruit should, in the first instance, be permitted to *chum* with no other than a soldier of sober habits. Indeed, as regards myself, I will not pretend to say that had I been doomed to *chum* with one of opposite principles, I might not have become a tippler, and something worse."

Many other subjects invite our attention, as they bear, directly or indirectly, upon the question of morality. A plan for providing the men with constant and regular employment has, we know, been long

* We have heard it suggested with much reason, that *iced water* ~~shall~~ be issued to soldiers. We have no doubt that this might be done at the three Presidencies with good effect; and that if ice were sold at the canteens, soldiers would frequently prefer spending their money on that, rather than brandy or arrack.

under the consideration of the authorities, and we hope that they will come to a speedy decision. Much vice in the army is the offspring of idleness. The greatness of Britain is, humanly speaking, founded on the extraordinary energy and laborious activity of its population ; just as Athens was great, when her historian could say of her citizens that ordinary work was as a festival day to them, inactive ease fully as great a misfortune as incessant labour ; but degenerate, when St. Luke described them, as caring for nothing but novelties and gossip.* And why should soldiers stand distinct from the rest of their countrymen ? They are for the most part taken from the labouring classes ; they have not been trained, like the nobility and wealthy gentry of England, to adorn luxurious ease, or even conceal it by the arts of refinement. Such persons, as soldiers, can never support idleness with equanimity ; for them, it is always "the burial of a living soul." In this country their sports are few, their recreations insipid ; so with many the only alternatives, after parade and pipeclay, are sleep and drink. Why should not their pay be made to depend, more than it does, upon the produce of their labour ? Tailors and armourers can find abundance of work ; in every regiment are men who were formerly carpenters and cabinet-makers, or shoe-makers, who, with a little assistance, might produce such articles as are now imported from England, and are so superior to those of native manufacture. Why should not their wives be the washerwomen of the regiment ? We are confident that, if Government would appoint a committee of shrewd and active officers, who might call in the aid of practical men, a plan would soon be devised for the encouragement of honest, improving, and remunerative labour. At all events take care that, in their leisure hours, their minds have as good nourishment as you can provide. Let some persons of educated and disciplined understandings discharge the duty of stocking regimental libraries, that they may not teem with such trash as can only have the effect of diluting common sense with feeble sophistry, and paralysing with romantic nonsense the robust energies of English intellects. However, we must dismiss these subjects, and content ourselves with drawing the attention of our audience to two, before we make our bow and leave the stage.

The question of promotion from the ranks has not only a military

* The contrast between a passage of Thucydides and one in the New Testament is very striking, and we do not know whether it has been before noticed. Thucydides (lib. i. 22) represents the Corinthians as saying to the Lacedæmonians of their enemies, the Athenians, *μη ιορτην ἄλλο τι ἡγήσθαι, ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν*. *Συμφερόν τε οὐχ ἡσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα, ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπιπορον*. The passage of Acts xvii. 21 is well known.

but also a moral bearing, which we ought not to leave unnoticed. Some writer has stigmatised it as "recruiting-serjeant's fable," and at a time of peace it often is so, even in the Queen's army. "The general fact is notorious," said Viscount Goderich in the House of Commons, "that the principle of the Horse Guards is, not to hold out to the private soldier any hope that merit will receive the honour of promotion to the rank of a commissioned officer." It has been said that, as our armies are recruited from volunteers and not by compulsory enlistment, the men who enter the ranks are of such an inferior class that very few are qualified to hold positions of responsibility. But they who urge this should go one step further, and ask, why it is that an honorable profession is thus manned? Unquestionably it is because merit is not sufficiently rewarded,—because sober, intelligent, and industrious men feel that, if they remain mechanics or small tradesmen, they are sure of success in life, but if they enter the army, their prospects are blighted. The circular argument, which logicians ridicule, but which may invariably be correctly applied to human affairs, is sound in this instance; the immorality of the soldier leads to the low estimate in which he is held, and the low estimate in which he is held leads to his immorality; he has no hope of becoming an officer, because he does not deserve to be one, and he does not deserve to be an officer, because he has no hope of becoming one. Even if he succeed in gaining his elevation from the ranks, he has little chance of further advancement in a service where all depends upon interest or money; an Adjutancy or a Quartermastership being almost the highest prizes within his reach; and as for the Company's service, in that, promotion from the ranks just reminds a man of his inferiority, and brings the galling reflection that he must be distanced in the race by all the lads who come out as cadets. A soldier may become an ensign under extraordinary circumstances, or even a lieutenant, if, as Sir De Lacy Evans observed so bitterly and epigrammatically, he is not "beaten by time"; but then, he is made to understand that his humble origin holds him down, and he must expect no higher rank. So insufficient are his means to support his new position and educate a family, that his old comrades plainly say they do not envy his exaltation. He is in that painful condition to which Chaucer gives the name of "wanhope," because hope has waned, and his example rather discourages aspiring serjeants. What have they to lose by a bout of drunkenness, or to gain by consistent sobriety? Why should they deserve the respect of their superiors, and—as some are quite able to do—cultivate

the high tone and feelings of gentlemen, or the sound principles of Christians? If they had some coveted object before them, they might struggle to push their way through the crowd; as it is, they had better mingle with it, satisfied with being as good as, and no better than, the mob. How can they be men of the highest character?

“For every gift of noble origin
Is breath'd upon by Hope's perpetual breath.”

But after all, a few seem to think that the glory and immorality of our army are inseparable; that when men live like devils, they fight like devils; that if you would be a trooper, you must swear like a trooper; or a corporal, you must get as drunk as a corporal. Such dull conservatives would really degrade our soldiers, and be contented if they have the passions and appetites of brutes. It is quite true, that riot and debauchery have not eaten out the British hearts of our men; that they still possess abundance of sterling qualities, and are unmatched for courage and perseverance; but will any one gravely maintain that, when in the various stages of those diseases which crowd our military hospitals, they are as serviceable as if they were sound in wind and limb,—that drunkenness promotes order and discipline,—or that a sot is the finest specimen that can be grown of humanity? Shall we give up the appeal to reason, to a sense of duty and honour, to the cherished traditions of England's glory, and rely, like barbarous nations, upon liquor or blang, or the paralysing influence of reckless dissipation? None will answer these questions in the affirmative; and yet an affirmation of them would be a legitimate conclusion of all arguments which are urged in defence, and for the continuance, of military immorality.

We take the very opposite ground, and argue that not only a moral, but a religious army, is most capable of steady, persevering, glorious service. Amongst the greatest nations of antiquity *ἀρετή* and *virtus* denoted the valour which was expected from soldiers, and also all active virtues. A virtuous was a valorous man. Spartan courage would not tolerate debauchery; Roman virtue was identified with martial prowess. And what is more, a certain religious consciousness of Roman soldiers is sketched with interesting truth in the New Testament. They came, as pupils, to John the Baptist, that they might learn a rule of life; the faith of one centurion eclipsed that of all Israel; another was the first gentile who embraced the Gospel. Surely, if we only look at this as a matter of psychical and philosophic inquiry, these are interesting traits of men who were following their eagles to universal conquest; and they seem to show, that in those days rigid discipline and martial training did not

necessarily smother the inner life. When Marcus Aurelius was Emperor, his twelfth legion was composed of Christians—men of prayer; and none in the service bore a higher reputation for conduct and gallantry. Religion, such as it was, armed Mohammed and his relentless Arabs against the emasculated Christianity and gross heathenism of the East, and again, raised the crusader's battle-axe against his turbaned adversary. In later times the Swedes, although running too often into the excesses of fanaticism, through religious zeal, raised a third-rate power to triumph over the great monarchs of Europe. By the might of the same energising principle, the troops of "a man sent from God, whose name was John"—as Pius the Fifth saluted Don John—withstood the torrent of Turkish conquest at Lepanto; and John Sobieski—similarly saluted by the Pope's plagiarist—triumphed at Vienna. In our country, too, the civil wars proved more than these; they satisfied men that an army may have a *moral* weight: for the triumphs of psalm-singers under Fairfax, Ireton, and Cromwell, were not the mere ebullitions of religious enthusiasm, but the steady superiority of sobriety and self-control over the recklessness and dissipation of cavaliers. With the aid of religion, Marlborough spread the reputation of British armies throughout Europe; and a Commander-in-Chief of England, who had done much to sustain that reputation, has left to posterity this memorable testimony:—"I must remind you," said Lord Hill, "that the soldier has much to combat in the way of constant temptation, and more in the want of early education. His deficiencies, in this latter respect, are deplorably and avowedly great. But the 'thorough soldier' (and I do not consider him deserving that name, who is not mindful of the duties which he owes to his Maker, as well as those which he owes to his fellow-men) I hold to be a being worthy of the permanent gratitude of his country." And although in France revolutionary fervour and imperial genius supplied, for a time, the place of Christian faith, that glory was only transient. So, we trust, that religion will never be banished from the armies of Europe; if it is, they will assuredly succumb to some invasion of disciplined fanatics. The great power of the North has lately shown us how a people, but just emerging from barbarism, can fight, when struggling—as the Russians believe themselves to be—for their hearths and altars; how they can combine skill, courage, and endurance, so as to resist for a while all our appliances of modern warfare, then to sustain defeat with inimitable coolness and constancy.

Yet we can fancy a remonstrant saying, 'What do you expect the army to be? A nursery of saints and new-lights? If you

try your best, you cannot obtain such men ; they will never suffer their demure faces to be set off with a shako, or exchange their tea-and-bisque parties for the profane discomfort of a barrack-room.' We say that we fancy a remonstrant uttering these words, not because we have written any thing to provoke them ; but because the champions of military immorality are sometimes most unreasonable, and rely more upon a *pshaw* ! or a *pooh-pooh* ! than upon any attempt to refute an opponent's arguments. Certain objections present themselves at once to them, but they refuse to consider the question in its length and breadth. "*Respicimus ad pauca, et de facili pronunciamus.*"

The truth is, we neither expect nor wish moral men only to enter the army. We are thankful, on the contrary, that there is a profession in which idle scape-graces can be profitably employed, a value can be set upon the worthless, and libertines be made the disciplined guardians of law and order. Armies which are not raised by conscription, cannot embrace large numbers of the intelligent and industrious classes ; and, possibly, it is for the benefit of our free country that such are not drained off from her workshops and factories. But what every man, whose soul is not buried in a heery sleep, desires is, that the army shall be a watered garden in which germs of good shall be fostered, and noxious weeds kept under, though they may not be eradicated. The great and good men of the military profession have felt and acknowledged this ; hence the numerous improvements to which we have alluded, and which have all been introduced of late years. Yet what has been done ? Is there any progress at all commensurate with the results of civilisation elsewhere ? Schools, savings' banks, limitation of drams, introduction of malt liquor, restrictions on the lash—all have partially, yet not altogether, failed. Their combined force seems to have given an almost imperceptible movement to the inert mass ; so now all hands should be piped to the work, and renewed efforts be directed to this moral propulsion.

It is obvious that if you can get a disciplined body of men to do what they know to be right, and that with steadiness and fortitude, in spite of all obstacles, you have a good army. But to do this you must give them an impulse, and you cannot give them the required impulse unless they entertain an adequate sentiment. Now the noblest, most powerful, most unfailing of all sentiments, are the impressions made upon the mind by religion. Hence that is a power which not only endows men with moral force, but enables them to make the best use of their physical force. " All national

greatness depends on the tone of public feeling and manners," said the profound Neander, "and this again on the influence which religion exerts on the life of the people;" and upon the tone of feeling, manners, and religion, depend the true glory and continued reputation of an army.

And yet our soldiers have few or no opportunities of being religious, under the herding of the barrack system. We have known men sally out to find seclusion in the jungle, or where distant rocks have been left bare by the sea's receding tide; but the instances of those who thus hunt, as it were, for their religion, must always be rare indeed. They are so few that as they usually become isolated, so on that account they are vain, self-sufficient, unsympathising with all who differ from them, and without any of those attractions which are rarely possessed, in vain, by chastened and yet earnest piety. Their example is powerless; and in every regiment where there is a small knot of such men, their ordinary history is—either, when from a removal to a new station, or other cause, the force of association ceases to act upon them, they give up, in despair, their attempt to cultivate a spirit of piety; or, if their wills are more inflexible, procure their discharge, and are, perhaps, next heard of as the ignorant teachers of some new-fangled fanaticism. This is the conclusion at which we have arrived, not after partial or hasty observation, but after long experience, diligent inquiry, and a careful analysis of evidence, courteously furnished us by friends well capable of forming opinions. It is painful to make the admission, that the machinery which Church and State provide for soldiers' spiritual edification is utterly inadequate for its purpose; but it is true. The Roman Catholic Church which rules the consciences of the Irish peasantry, the Presbyterian Church which has gained such a hold of the poor of Scotland, the Church of England which, after the violent declamation of many opponents, yet retains the veneration of Englishmen—the assaults of all these upon the vices of the army are like arrows shot against triple brass; they hit the mark, their noise is heard, and they fall powerless. We cannot conceive that the army could be worse affected in religious matters, if Bishops, Chaplains, and Missionaries were all removed; if mitres, lawn, surplices—aye, and Bibles—all were sent with their possessors back to England. Regiments would not march to Church with grudging hearts, closed ears, and bands appearing as merry as a hypocrite's smiles; padres would no longer be tolerated as licensed hoers, or Bishops envied as the favorites of both earth and heaven; but Courts Martial would be as frequent; drill, confinement, and the triangles, would repress insubordination; and the Doctor would

patch up bodies, broken by drunkenness and debauchery. The live and dead stock of the ecclesiastical establishment could be easily disposed of, and a large sum saved to the State. Officers and soldiers would be left to their own devices ; lessons of temperance, chastity, and divine love, would no longer be heard from the pulpit ; at least, they would not be both delivered and despised.

Setting aside exceptional cases, and taking a broad view of the general question, we solemnly declare that *the Church Establishment is of no use whatever to the European Army in India*. A pious Chaplain may be occasionally consoled in hospital, by hearing the penitent words of a soldier as he falls back into the arms of Death ; he may preach so forcibly in Church that some habitual drunkard may remain sober all Sunday, and not taste a dram till Monday ; occasionally a reprobate, finding sin, sin, nothing but sin, a wearisome condition, may, for a short time, suspend the orgies of a life ; under the influence of some sudden impulse, or urged on by enormous egotism, a soldier may talk of religion with volubility, and pray with such a dangerous unction that he soon aspires to be the leader of a sect ; but neither are the lives of the masses—no, nor even of a chosen few—improved or modified by the ecclesiastical establishment, whether it comes to them in the shape of a bishop or a priest, a preacher or a pastor, a hireling or a good shepherd, a formal listless minister or one with burning desires, untiring energies, and ceaseless efforts in his high and holy vocation.

All parties are to blame in this matter ; yet it is not for us to reproach any. We think that we hear the welcome sounds of better times approaching ; would that they were more distinct ; they may be signs of impending rain. We can only hope that, as the tide is at the lowest ebb, the flood will lead us on to purer waters. From two facts we augur well : there has been decided progress amongst both rich and poor in England, and there have been good and true efforts after the same progress in the army. Civil cannot fail to act upon Military society ; and that moral improvement, expected to result from the many excellent measures which have been introduced in the army, may be delayed, yet surely not indefinitely postponed.

Only the attention of officers should be drawn earnestly to the truth, that after all has been done, success, under God, depends upon them. There will be no good will amongst soldiers, unless the will of officers is—to borrow a phrase from theology—synergistic. The Horse Guards may send their orders, Commanders-in-Chief remonstrate or threaten, beneficent reformers hit upon the precise expedient that was required, and clergymen may preach ; but regimental

officers can alone make the exertions of others effectual. As the malaria of their vices may spread through the ranks, and thus destroy souls and bodies, so their intelligent virtue may be like the nucta or miraculous drop which, according to the myth, falls through the pestilential air of Egypt and heals its plagues. They can do much to discountenance, if not at once to suppress crime. They may take care that its utterance *in word* is checked. "Chaplains may preach," said the late General Sir John Elley—who had himself been in the ranks—when death stared him in the face, "and commanding officers reprimand, but rash and hasty words are one of the soldier's besetting sins. And yet, considering that in war-time he is one moment all 'life and daring,' the next 'laid low,' blasphemy in his case seems flat rebellion against Heaven. These points, Sir, appear in their true colours when life begins to wane." The horrible profanity which is almost universal amongst European soldiers, may, and ought to, be strictly prohibited. The "Staff-Sergeant" thus describes the condition at head quarters :—

"Although there was much order and regularity, in a military point of view, among the old soldiers, their conduct in other respects was frequently abominable, and their language of so foul a character as almost to make my blood curdle and my flesh creep, when I recall it. In many instances, the lips of Serjeant and private teemed alike with pollution, and their horrible oaths and execrations coupled with expressions of obscenity, pained my ears ten-fold more than the shrill screaming of the troops of jackalls that came nightly from the graves and tombs to prey upon the offal of the camp. Still, strange as it may seem, I soon became habituated to all this; and their language grew daily less and less offensive from constantly hearing it, until finally I began to inhale the grossness of those around me, in spite of myself. Such is the baneful influence of example."

The rulers of every well-constituted society have the power to make vice pay fealty to virtue, so far as to assume its livery. Further their regulations cannot go; but their good example and kindness may also reach the heart. In a disciplined body like the Army, religion and morality must follow a process the very reverse of that which has marked Christianity in civil life. There it began with fishermen, and ascended to the officers of the Imperial household, last of all to the Emperor himself. In the Army it began with centurions and descended to privates; in a later age, it passed from the Emperor Constantine, together with his decrees, down through the ranks of his legions. Perhaps, at the present time, in both civil and military society, neither the highest nor the lowest, but the middle classes, have the greatest power for evil or for good. On regimental officers depend, in a high degree, the morality and mortality, the temporal and eternal prosperity, of the British soldier.

We have only to add, with respect to Mr. Byerley Thompson's work, the title of which is last on the list at the head of this article, that it contains a comprehensive account of the Military Forces of Great Britain, together with a valuable epitome of Military Law, of the internal economy of the Army, and of the organization of the Militia. The only work, on all these subjects, which had before appeared, was from the pen of M. le Baron Charles Dupin, a French officer of Artillery, thirty years since ; it was, therefore, high time that an Englishman should come forward to enlighten the public, and show the disposable forces of the Empire.

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